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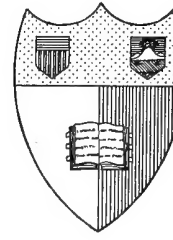

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ST. LUKE

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

BY

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PREFACE

My obligations to the scholars whose writings have in a large measure inspired this study of *Luke: the Man and his Work*, may be found on almost every page of what follows. But the book is none the less the result of independent investigations, extending over many years, of the problems involved in the text and character of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles.

To Professor Peake, who kindly read the MS. and made some valuable suggestions as to the scope of the work; to the Rev. Lawrence Redfern of Liverpool, who corrected the proofs; to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, who rendered invaluable assistance in seeing the book through the press; and last, but not least, to the Hibbert Trustees for their generous grant in aid of publication, my warmest thanks are due and are gratefully tendered.

In the conviction that the key to New Testament

study lies mainly in understanding aright the nature and purpose of Luke's writings, this volume is sent forth with a sincere hope that it may assist in the elucidation of difficulties pertaining to the records of the life and teaching of Christ and his Apostles.

H. McLACHLAN.

MANCHESTER,
October 13, 1919.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Importance of Luke's Writings

The third gospel and the Acts of the Apostles may be said to form the pivots round which the study of the New Testament revolves. The question of the gospel sources forms a central point of the synoptic problem, and the reliability of Acts a fundamental base for the reconstruction of early Christian history.

II. The "Western" Text

Furthermore, the discussion of the greatest textual problem in the New Testament, namely that of the so-called "Western" text, a discussion which threatens to reverse the judgement of the most eminent English scholars, almost entirely springs out of the witness of the Lucan writings. "Upon the solution of the difficult problem of the 'Western' text," writes Professor Knopf,[1] "the textual critic of the New Testament works to-day, and will have to work for long. In many cases, by the examination of single passages, the authority of the highly esteemed text is most severely shaken —on external evidence, since the readings of the 'Western' text are frequently much older and

[1] *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bd. i. S. 1125.

more widespread—on internal evidence, since they prove themselves to be really superior and more primitive." "The greatest objection to Hort's view," says Professor Clark,[1] "proceeds from the evidence of the Fathers. . . . The hypothesis that gross license began to reign in sub-Apostolic times, but that the 'Neutral' text was preserved in some unknown place, is most violent, and in itself very unlikely."

It is not to be assumed that a single "Western" text can be discovered in any manuscript superior to what Hort called by the question-begging title of the "Neutral" text. "The choice between the reading of the Vatican and the Sinaitic on the one side, and the Codex Bezae and the oldest versions on the other, must be determined partly by the exegesis of each passage, partly by the style of the individual author." [2]

On the other hand, it cannot be admitted that only omissions from the "Western" text (in Hort's phrase "Western Non-interpolations") can be proved original. The crucial question is the genuineness of variants and so-called interpolations. As Dr. Burkitt has said,[3] "It is in the direction here indicated, viz. the preservation of the true text in a considerable number of cases by 'Western' documents alone, that criticism may ultimately be able to advance beyond the point reached by Hort."

III. Nature of the following Discussions

As a small step forward, a few passages are discussed in the following pages, which, upon the

[1] *Primitive Text of the Gospels and the Acts*, p. 111.

[2] Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 2te Aufl. S. 6.

[3] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. iv. col. 4991.

evidence of the "Western" text, are attributed to Luke. These throw fresh light on Luke as evangelist and historian. One is the well-known story of the woman taken in adultery, usually but mistakenly made part of the fourth gospel. Another seeks to recover for the cycle of Sabbath stories in Luke the remarkable incident of the man working on the Sabbath day. "Luke the Editor" illustrates how the third evangelist has shaped a source preserved in its primitive form in the first gospel by Codex Bezae, whilst "Luke the Theologian" presents a study of the doctrinal tendencies of the Gentile evangelist largely based on the "Western" text of both his writings.

In Acts, the "Western" text gives us an earlier "we" passage than those in the "Neutral" text, and one which, it is suggested, is related to the conversion of the writer. In "Luke the Letter-Writer" we see how the "Western" text makes more intelligible the nature and meaning of the Apostolic Decree of Jerusalem, one of the most important documents for the historian of the beginnings of Christianity. The same text, by what seem at first sight trifling variants from readings more generally accepted, helps to clear up difficulties in connection with incidents reported by Luke, as, for example, the riot at Ephesus and the disturbance in the presence of Gallio, both of which are dealt with in essays that follow. In Luke the Linguist the synoptic problem is discussed and the sources of Acts examined. With a single exception, every essay discusses at some point a reading of the "Western" text. Those on "Luke the Man of Letters," "Luke the Humorist," and "Luke and his Friends" are at one with the rest in making more plain the character and personality of the third evangelist.

It is certain, as New Testament criticism pro-

gresses, that the figure of Luke will stand out more prominently, and we shall recognise in him our great evangelist and our earliest Christian historian — one of the noblest minds of the Apostolic age.

CHAPTER I

LUKE THE MAN OF LETTERS

I. The Personality of Luke

Many factors have contributed in recent years to make plain the commanding position of Luke amongst the writers of the New Testament. The study of the synoptic problem, the researches of historians and archaeologists, and the investigations of the literary characteristics of the earliest Christian authors have led to a clearer perception of the personality and purpose of the third evangelist. "The authors of the gospels were obscure; at least their personalities are obscure to us at the present day, with the exception of Luke."[1] The second gospel is the oldest, but Mark has preserved few, if any, of those sayings of Jesus which most modern scholars acknowledge as a primary source of Matthew and Luke. The first gospel bears the name of one who listened to our Lord, but in Matthew there are few traces of the reporter, and many of the ecclesiastical editor. Neither the first nor the second gospel contains those parables of Jesus which are most commonly regarded as revealing the riches of the mind of Christ. Luke's own attitude toward the second gospel is far from flattering. He virtually condemned it as "wrong in its order

[1] Moffatt, *Theology of the Gospels*, p. 10.

of events, unspiritual, imperfect, and incorrect." Some of his criticism agrees in a remarkable manner with that which, we learn from Papias, was passed upon the book by the presbyter John. Again, the author of the first gospel is unknown. He was certainly not an Apostle, and probably wrote later than Luke. In character he must have been in many ways the antithesis of the third evangelist. He was a Jewish particularist with Jewish conceptions of righteousness—"a Christian rabbi" employing rabbinical methods of instruction, throughout whose gospel runs a vein of pessimism. By birth, Mark was "of the circumcision" and Luke a Gentile, a fact which explains some of their differences, alike literary and personal.

To the second evangelist as the creator of the form of literature known as the gospel, and as the first writer who thus turned the stream of oral tradition into a literary channel, the debt of Matthew and Luke alike is unquestionable. But as Herder [1] observed, "no evangelist has so little of the character of a man of letters and so much of the vivid utterance of a story-teller" as Mark. One point which emerges from recent discussions is of first-rate importance. The author of the third gospel is the author also of the Acts of the Apostles. Most scholars in England and not a few elsewhere go further, and, on the evidence of the medical phraseology in both books, the references to Luke in Colossians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy, and the earliest traditions on the subject, identify the author with Luke the companion of Paul, whose personal experiences, mingled with those of the Apostle, are narrated in the second part of Acts. It is some confirmation of the traditional view with respect to the gospel that Marcion (*flor.* A.D. 100–162),

[1] Quoted by Wendland, *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 204.

the ultra-Paulinist, used it as his gospel, evidently connecting it with the Pauline circle, though in itself it bears no unmistakable Pauline stamp.[1]

The difficulties involved in this identification have not all disappeared, but it is admittedly based on scientific reasoning, and its denial raises more problems than it solves.

It may be admitted that "the divergences between Acts and Paul's epistles suggest that the author was sometimes inaccurate, and not always well informed, but it is hard to see that he makes mistakes which would be impossible to one who had, indeed, been with St. Paul at times, but not during the greater part of his career, and had collected information from the Apostle and others as opportunity served."[2]

With the acceptance of the traditional view, we learn that Luke is the only author in the New Testament of two distinct types of book, is the earliest Christian historian, and, next to Paul, the most voluminous writer in Christian scripture.

It is precarious to conjecture with Sir William Ramsay, Spitta, and Zahn, that Luke even contemplated a third publication. No stress, at least, can be laid on the use of πρῶτος (Acts i. 1). In the Κοινή, "besides being used in a superlative or elative sense, πρῶτος begins to supplant πρότερος"[3] (cp. John i. 15, xv. 18, and many passages in LXX).

One reason why the third gospel and Acts are esteemed so highly in the Western world is because their author stands out from the rest of the writers of the New Testament as a man of Western temperament and training. His admiration for the order, justice, and common sense of the Roman

[1] B. Weiss, *Meyer's Kommentar*, ii. 252.

[2] Lake, *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, i. 20.

[3] Thackeray, *Grammar of Old Testament in Greek*, i. 183; cp. Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 79.

administration, and his sensibility to the charm and beauty of the Greek world, are revealed in the narratives of Acts, even whilst he displays no sympathy with Roman materialism or Greek idolatry. The characteristic Jewish contempt for Rome and the Gentile world in general are conspicuously absent from both his writings.

In one respect Luke is unique amongst the synoptists, and amongst New Testament writers generally is comparable only with Paul and the unknown author of the letter to the Hebrews. He is a man of literary attainment and scientific culture.

II. Luke's Description of Peter and John

In Acts iv. 13 Luke describes Peter and John as *ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*. Our English versions render the words "unlearned and ignorant men." It may be doubted whether Luke intends so to belittle the two Apostles. Drs. Moulton and Milligan,[1] however, support the translation of *ἀγράμματος*. The word, they say, "is of constant occurrence in the formula used by one person signing a deed or letter on behalf of another who cannot read," which "suggests that the sneer in Acts iv. 13 is intended to picture the Apostles as illiterate." Dr. Milligan had twice [2] previously rendered *ἀγράμματος* by "unacquainted with literature or Rabbinic learning [teaching]." It would rather seem that this is a case where doctors disagree! A scholar of an earlier date [3] says the word means "illiterate," and then "one who does not possess a

[1] *Vocabulary of the New Testament illustrated from the Papyri* (1915), Pt. I.

[2] *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (1910), p. 58; *New Testament Documents* (1911), p. 21.

[3] Schleusner, *Nov. Lexicon Greek-Latin in New Testament* (1719).

learned and subtle acquaintance with the Jewish religion." "The term had its origin," he adds, "in the schools of the rabbis." Holtzmann, Wendt, and other commentators understand γράμματα, Acts xxvi. 24, John vii. 15, to mean specifically "rabbinical learning."

Papyri scribes unacquainted with Jewish modes of speech might mean by ἀγράμματος nothing more or less than "illiterate"; not so Luke. Used by him and applied to Peter and John the word meant "men without a rabbinical training." This is supported by the words which follow: καὶ ἰδιῶται. In classical Greek ἰδιώτης means a private person, or one without professional knowledge. Thucydides (ii. 48) distinguishes the ἰδιώτης from the ἰατρός, Aristotle (*Eth.* iii. 8. 8) from the ἀθλητής, and Plato (*Phaedr.* 258 D) from the ποιητής. Lucian (A.D. 120–200) constantly uses the word of one who was not a professional philosopher or rhetorician, and once only (*Vera Historia*, i. 37) in the secondary sense of simple-minded. Paul uses the word (1 Cor. xiv. 16) of the man who should say "Amen" but does not understand the word of thanks spoken in ecstasy, and of himself as an orator (2 Cor. xi. 6). In papyri of A.D. 3–4 the word is frequently used of a "private" in the army.

Dr. Chase[1] thus distinguishes ἀγράμματος from ἰδιώτης: "The term ἀγράμματος looks back to the facts of a man's early life. To a Greek it meant one who has had no part in either side of Greek education; to a Jew it meant one who had had no training in the Rabbinic study of scripture. The term ἰδιώτης rather regarded a man's present position. With the Greek it was the antithesis to πολιτικός; in the mouth of a Jew it expressed the contrast between the man who could understand and take part in religion as conceived by the scribes

[1] *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 757.

and one of the ὄχλος." Zorell (*N.T. Lexicon Graecum*) renders the whole phrase "homines indocti et plebeji." It is highly significant that the two words form a single phrase in the writing of Luke—a cultured Greek convert to Christianity.

III. The Culture and Characteristics of Luke

Of New Testament writers known by name, Luke and Paul alone cannot be called ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται, and the one was a physician (ἰατρός), whilst the other had sat at the feet of Gamaliel. Dr. Adeney[1] has called Paul, the author of Hebrews, and the author of the Johannine writings "the three New Testament men of scholarly attainment." But the scholarship of the writer to the Hebrews and of "John" is not the same in range or originality as "that general Greek culture" which, as Dr. Stanton affirms,[2] "almost alone among the New Testament writers Luke possesses."

Many scholars have been similarly impressed with the literary ability of Luke. "Luke," says Dr. Moffatt,[3] "is the only writer in the New Testament who reminds us in style and treatment of an ancient Greek or Roman author; the dedicating his works to an individual, their prefaces and their general ethos, offer a certain parallel to contemporary pagan literature." "The author of Acts," writes Dr. Percy Gardner,[4] "is certainly a writer of great skill, indeed of literary genius." "In the most literary of the gospels, the author is revealed," declares Mr. Jackson,[5] "as the accomplished man of letters." For Dr. Moulton[6] he is "the only *littérateur* among

[1] *Theological Lectures* (*University of Manchester*), p. 200.
[2] *Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 262.
[3] *Introduction to Literature of New Testament*, p. 316.
[4] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 384. [5] *Ibid.* p. 443.
[6] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, ii. 7.

the authors of N.T. books." Yet the precise nature and extent of Luke's scholarship have seldom been defined.

That the author of the third gospel and of Acts was a Greek physician is a conclusion of modern scholars now seldom challenged. It was an English scholar who first seriously directed attention to the words and phrases, additions and omissions, in the Lucan writings which betray the medical training of their author. The words of Zahn,[1] to which Harnack subscribes, pay tribute to one who erred only in the very abundance of evidence he collected in support of his thesis. "Hobart has proved to the satisfaction of any one open to conviction that the author of the Lucan works was familiar with the technical language of Greek medicine, and hence was a Greek physician."

Wendland[2] remains unconvinced by the evidence. The medical knowledge, he says, "does not go beyond what may be assumed in cultured laymen. An extensive medical literature, intended for the most part for a wide public, including numerous writings by laymen and public medical lectures, had spread abroad an acquaintance with the medical art and its terminology. Philo's knowledge in this field exceeded that of our author, and still he was not a physician." Harnack's main contentions are not met.

There is discernible in the Lucan writings a medical point of view, and a marked preference for stories concerning healing as well as medical technical terms and metaphors. There is also an avoidance of "popular medical expressions." Luke's changes of the Marcan text "are most simply and surely explained from the professional interest of a physician,"[3] and in especial, his

[1] *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. Trans.), iii. 146.
[2] *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 269.
[3] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Trans.), p. 269.

omission of Mark's "somewhat malicious remark about physicians" (cp. Mark v. 26 = Luke viii. 43).

Amongst medical practitioners, even at a time when many were slaves, a certain level of education and culture, not necessarily high, may fairly be presumed.

That Luke was a native of Antioch is a natural inference from a tradition reported by Eusebius.[1] It may also be noteworthy that, with the single exception of Hippocrates, all the extant Greek medical writers were Asiatic Greeks.

In Luke's day Antioch in Syria was no mean city. Josephus speaks of it as the third city of the empire, next to Rome and Alexandria. Its art and literature won the praise of Cicero. Here East and West met, and Hellenism mingled with Orientalism. Founded by Seleucus Nicanor (300 B.C.) as the capital of his kingdom, its Jewish colony dated from its foundation. This great cosmopolitan city, with its Syrian, Greek, and Jewish elements, was the birthplace of Luke, the cradle of the church, and the place where the name of Christian was first coined. The influence of Antioch in the development of primitive Christianity has long been recognised. Its importance as the scene of Luke's early life has commonly been neglected.

The Antiochian Church, according to the "Western" reading of Acts xi. 20,[2] included Greeks, amongst whom Luke may be reckoned.[3] The church was not of Pauline foundation, and the presence in it of Gentile elements doubtless distinguished the society from its Jewish parent the synagogue, and led the wits of the city, famed for their scurrility, to give the preachers of Christos the nickname of Χριστιανοί (xi. 26). Yet probably

[1] See "Luke the Diarist," pp. 201.
[2] See Excursus I. pp. 39, 40.
[3] See "Luke the Diarist," pp. 195 ff.

here as elsewhere the members of the church had relations with the synagogue. It is easy to suppose that Luke "was probably in close touch with Judaism before he became a Christian." [1]

A Greek physician of Antioch, if he entered the church through the portico of the synagogue, might well be acquainted, in some measure, with the literature of Greece, and not entirely ignorant of the languages of Rome and Palestine.[2]

"Almost the only passage in the New Testament which," in Jowett's opinion,[3] "reads like a Greek period of the time is the first paragraph of the gospel according to St. Luke." Its classical style and similarity to the prefaces of historians like Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius, if they do not necessarily point to Luke's acquaintance with these ancient writers, at least attest his ability to write Greek in some ways comparable to theirs.

An American scholar [4] says of Luke's version of the sermon: "It moves carefully, steadily, and logically from thought to thought and is complete in itself." "It is not the parallelism of the Hebrew style; rather it is a style affecting the Stoic diatribe."

The form in which the sermon is cast must be attributed largely to the evangelist, whether or not it be true that he was under "the influence of the literary forms of Hellenic philosophy."

The title of Luke's second work may have been originally simply Πράξεις, though its present name was known to Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and the author of the Muratorian Canon. Wendland [5] compares the Περὶ Ἀννίβου πράξεων of

[1] Harnack, *Bible Reading in the Early Church* (Eng. Trans.), p. 34. [2] See "Luke the Linguist," pp. 46 ff.

[3] *Essays and Reviews*, p. 396.

[4] Parsons, *Historical Examination of Non-Marcan Elements in Luke*, p. 68.

[5] *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 249, *n.* 2.

Hannibal's companion Sosylus and the Πράξεις Ἀλεξάνδρου of Alexander's contemporary Callisthenes. The use of similar titles by later writers of fiction and of marvels is no proof in itself of Luke's kinship with such writers.

It is worthy of note, also, that the synchronistic chronology of Luke iii. 1 is quite in the manner of ancient historians, and that he uses in his preface "current expressions (*e.g.* ἀνατάξασθαι, καθεξῆς γράψαι) of Hellenistic historical writings."[1] The employment in Acts of current epistolary formulae is noted elsewhere.[2] It is therefore with good reason that Dr. Stanton[3] thinks "we may at least feel absolutely certain that Luke had not obtained his facility of expression solely from a knowledge of a single writer," though he believes "we cannot say that the author of the Lucan writings had read this or that other Greek work."

It is true that no definite quotation is made by Luke except from the Greek version of the Old Testament, and of this he makes by no means so free a use as Matthew and Mark. According to Dr. Swete[4] "the Synoptic Gospels have forty-six distinct quotations (Mt. 40, Mc. 19, Lc. 17), of which eighteen are peculiar to Mt., three to Mc., three to Lc." The quotations from the Old Testament in Acts (twenty-three in number) are taken from the LXX exclusively, and, with the exception of the passage from Isaiah which the Ethiopian eunuch was reading on the way from Jerusalem to Gaza (viii. 32), they occur only in the speeches. At the same time, in his vocabulary Luke exhibits more familiarity with the LXX than either Matthew or Mark.

[1] Wendland, *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 259.
[2] See "Luke the Letter-Writer," pp. 161-163.
[3] *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 264.
[4] *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 391.

Apart from Luke's knowledge of the Septuagint, and of all which such a knowledge must have meant for a man of his insight and ability, there are numerous indications of his culture, character, and interests. As a stylist Luke is a writer who employs more classical words and is more precise and accurate in his constructions than any other evangelist. He is a Hellenist who is as free in his forms of expression as he is rich in his vocabulary. Dr. Moulton[1] believes "it would be hard to find ancient parallels for the variation of style he shows as the story changes its scene," and compares him with the modern novelist who "will see to it that his country yokel and his professor do not talk the same dialect."

But this tribute to Luke is connected with a theory of his sources which exalts the editor at the expense of the linguist.[2] As a story-teller Luke is at his best. He has a genius for producing effects by contrast and antithesis. Pathos and sadness blend with joy and gladness in his gospel, giving the narrative an exquisite tone of bitter-sweetness. He displays marked evidence of constructive ability in the working up of his materials, and in the dovetailing of his "diary" into the later chapters of Acts. In many ways Luke is the one New Testament writer most in harmony with the modern mind. There is an element of universality in his gospel. It is for all nations. He alone states that our Lord journeyed through Samaria, and mentions the gratitude of the Samaritan leper. A narrow nationalism or a bigoted sectarianism is impossible in the narrator of the parable of the Good Samaritan and the reporter of Paul's speech on Mars Hill.

Amongst the most precious moral precepts of

[1] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, ii. 7.

[2] See "Luke the Linguist," pp. 46 ff.

our Lord are those which are peculiar to the third gospel. In the first days of the Christian faith Luke perceived its essentially ethical character, now so generally recognised. One marked feature of Luke is his treatment of women and of the sinful. Nowhere in the New Testament is the sinner touched with so tender a hand, and nowhere are women so reverently honoured. Of old, women had been lightly esteemed by both Jew and Gentile. Luke gives them a prominence in his gospel which is, in a way, prophetic of the place and power they are surely winning for themselves in our own time. Dr. Burkitt,[1] indeed, on the ground that "no sympathetic elaborations are given to the stories of women taken from Mark's gospel," argues that "the characteristic sympathy given to women, and the stress laid upon woman's part in the Ministry of Jesus, belong rather to one or more of Luke's sources than to Luke himself." Since, however, Luke is responsible for his selection of sources, and displays in Acts the same tendency to honour women, he cannot be deprived of a peculiar interest in their welfare. With the wealth of material at his disposal, which, in his gospel, exhibits this trait, there was no need for any embellishment of similar Marcan stories. The sinner, in Luke's gospel, is not an object for severity, but a subject for salvation. Christianity is slowly learning the lesson taught by Luke that penitence is not to be compelled by pain but induced by purification.

IV. His Treatment of Sources

In both his works Luke had his sources, but only in the second does he give us information at first hand. The so-called "we sections" of Acts are acknowledged even by scholars who reject the

[1] *Sources for the Life of Jesus*, pp. 113-14.

Lucan authorship of the book as a whole to be the composition of a companion of Paul and in the highest degree trustworthy. The sources employed in the gospel are not, save in the case of Mark, easily distinguished. The use of the second gospel by the first and third evangelists is "the one assured result" of modern criticism. Luke's treatment of Mark is peculiar. He follows his order and arrangement to a large extent, and yet, much more than Matthew, omits parts of the narrative. For this various reasons are adduced by Sir John Hawkins.[1] He endeavoured to avoid miracles achieved by material means, to prevent undue repetition, and to limit the controversy against the Pharisees. In two points the reason given is creditable to the character of the evangelist. He exhibits a "tendency to spare the twelve—to say comparatively little as to their faults and failings,"[2] and he passes over the incident of the Syro-Phoenician woman "with its implication that Gentiles were as dogs who could only claim the crumbs of the Master's table, or that the Master could even for a moment grudge his healing."[3]

In passing over the feeding of the four thousand in Mark, Luke exercises a certain criticism upon his source, "but it is really a criticism more of taste than of historical doubt."[4] As Luke loves a good miracle the omission was probably due to his perception of the striking verbal similarities in Mark vi. 34-44, viii. 1-10, similarities which, as Wellhausen points out, cannot be original to the second evangelist, who regarded the two stories as relating to different events, and had therefore no reason for making them as like as possible.

[1] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 68-74.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 71.
[3] Streeter, *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 223.
[4] Wendland, *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 199.

What Luke retains of Mark's narrative, though verbally improved, is as picturesque and vivid as the original sketch, which cannot be said of Matthew—a more literal copyist. Luke's additions to Mark, however, constitute his chief claim to the love and reverence of students of the New Testament. Obviously he had other sources besides Mark. One of these, known in some form to Matthew, has been called "Q" (German *Quelle*), a name which does not prejudice the question of its precise character. It has been aptly described as "a selection, compiled for a practical purpose, of those words or deeds of the Master which would give guidance in the actual problems faced by the Christian missionaries." [1]

Matthew, in the opinion of many scholars, seems to have preserved more of the actual words and style of his source, whilst Luke, in accordance with his purpose of writing καθεξῆς, followed more exactly its chronological order. In itself it is a fair inference that Luke would use his second source as he did his first, and in the matter of order this was the case. But his treatment of the language of "Q" was apparently determined in part by the existence of another and more primitive source.[2] Bernhard Weiss,[3] indeed, believes that Luke hardly less than Matthew has preserved the words, and not merely the order, of the source common to the two evangelists, and that he has reproduced it more faithfully than he did the text of Mark. For example, the petition of the disciples which forms the introduction to Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer must be attributed to "Q," since the third evangelist nowhere mentions the fact to

[1] Streeter, *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 212.
[2] See "Luke the Linguist," pp. 64 ff.
[3] *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, S. 71; cp. *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*, S. 31.

which Christ's disciples appeal, namely, that John had taught his disciples to pray. Omissions from "Q" here and there are due to Luke's consideration for his Gentile readers, to whom various Old Testament and Judaic elements would be unfamiliar, whilst additions and revision, apart from mere stylistic improvement, were prompted by a desire to prevent the misunderstanding of "Q." One Lucan characteristic which is noted is the insertion of a question when, in "Q," there is a transition from one subject of discourse to another (*e.g.* Luke xii. 41, xiii. 23, xvii. 37[a]).

For Luke Weiss has discovered a third source (L), equally important with Mark and "Q," and affecting his presentation of both these sources, it being by no means confined to the sections peculiar to the third gospel. On this point Harnack [1] reserves judgement and Dr. Sanday [2] is critical. All that need be said here is that the determination of sources in Luke is not yet complete,[3] but that his handling of them has been shown to display decided literary ability. "Luke has not simply written out his sources but impressed upon them his own style." [4]

In the Acts of the Apostles the case is much the same. The sources are with difficulty analysed, and only by reasoned conjecture attributed to various persons in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic circles. The historian has done his work so thoroughly that even the ingenuity of modern scholarship cannot distinctly make out his authorities. Both in the gospel and in Acts, Luke has used his sources with considerable freedom, especially in the matter of style and language.

[1] *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1908), S. 466-7.
[2] *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. xxi-xxiii.
[3] See further, "Luke the Linguist."
[4] B. Weiss, *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*, S. 186.

V. Luke's Acquaintance with "Profane" Writings

Plainly Luke must have been acquainted with, and to some extent influenced by, many writings besides the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, the gospel of Mark, "Q," and the special sources of his gospel and history. Some of these, doubtless, have perished with the numerous literary productions which have disappeared since the first century of our era. Others may have survived to the present time. Passages and characteristics of the Lucan writings which point to the author's knowledge of the Book of Wisdom are discussed later.[1] We may fairly credit Luke with such a knowledge of "profane" literature as is revealed in the speeches of Acts, for whose form and, to a certain extent, content he must be held responsible.[2]

Paul, in his address to the Athenians (Acts xvii. 28), quotes the words of certain of their poets, *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*. These words occur literally in an astronomical poem, *The Phaenomena*, by Aratus (*flor.* 270 B.C.), and, in a slightly different form, *ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν*, they are found in the *Hymn to Zeus* by Cleanthes (300–220 B.C.). "Possibly," says Mr. James Adam,[3] "Paul derived the saying not directly from Aratus, but from Aristobulus, a hellenizing Jew, who flourished about 150 B.C., and was the first to mention what afterwards became a favourite patristic theory, that Plato derived all his wisdom from Moses. We know from Eusebius that Aristobulus cited in support of his audacious theory that part of Aratus'

[1] See pp. 242 f.
[2] See "Luke the Reporter," pp. 175 f.
[3] *The Vitality of Platonism*, pp. 123-4. Also Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Bd. ii. S. 475.

poem in which Paul's quotation occurs, and there is evidence to show that the Apostle was not unacquainted with the literature of Jewish Hellenism, whether he had read any pure Greek literature or not."

The suggestion is interesting, but not conclusive. A Roman citizen of Tarsus and a Greek physician of Antioch might easily be acquainted with the writings of both Aratus and Cleanthes, of whom one was a native of Cilicia and the other of Mysia. Perhaps, indeed, a knowledge of *both* authors is responsible for the plural used by Paul, *τινὲς τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν*. In the words preceding this quotation (*ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν*) Dr. Rendel Harris [1] recognises a line from the *Minos* of the Cretan poet Epimenides, to whom the Epistle to Titus is indebted for the words *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί* (i. 12). Theodoret of Mopsuestia, however, derived the latter saying from Callimachus, and it is at least significant that in the source of the Ischodad Commentary on Acts [2] in Syriac Titus i. 12 is combined with the similar saying from Callimachus and with Acts xvii. 28[a].

Blass [3] has even discovered in Luke's writings a knowledge of Homer. In Luke xxiii. 54 Codex Bezae, an old Latin MS. (e), and the Sahidic version preserve a curious addition to the usual text, "And after it had been laid there, he put into the sepulchre a stone, which twenty men could scarce roll." In the *Odyssey*, ix. 240, we read of a "stone which not even twenty-two carts might carry away," and the same verb *ἐπέθηκε* is used in Luke as in Homer, whereas in the parallels Matthew and Mark use *προσκολίω*. "Must we not accept it for

[1] *Expositor*, 8th ser., iv. (1912), pp. 348 ff.
[2] Ed. Gibson, *Horae Semiticae*, x. 39.
[3] *Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 185 f.

a certainty," asks Blass, "that Luke the physician had gone through his Homer?" Most scholars will answer without hesitation in the negative. Doubtless, as Scrivener[1] remarked, "the addition was conceived somewhat in the Homeric spirit." Dr. Chase,[2] however, believes it to be derived from Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* vi. 5[3], or from a traditional account of what Josephus there records. But here the coincidences are those of subject, not of language, the only word common to the two passages being that for twenty. This "Western" reading, unlike many in the Lucan writings, impresses one as a mere scribal gloss designed to heighten the effect of the miracle afterwards related. But the theory of Luke's acquaintance with Homer does not rest on this passage alone. In Acts xxvii. 41 he writes ἐπέκειλαν τὴν ναῦν. The obsolete word ναῦς is nowhere else employed by any New Testament writer; instead of which τὸ πλοῖον was the common expression, occurring in this same chapter of Acts no fewer than thirteen times. Again, ἐπικέλλω for ἐποκέλλω is poetical. Homer, in the ninth book of the *Odyssey* already mentioned, has νῆας . . . ἐπικέλσαι (148), and again νῆα . . . ἐκέλσαμεν (546).

Amongst rigid Atticists Dr. Moulton[3] has noticed "a fondness for obsolete words with literary associations." He instances ἡ ναῦς, which is freely found in Aelian, Josephus, and other Κοινή writers. Other Homeric words used by Luke alone in the New Testament are ἀσμένως and θάρσος, both of which occur in "we" passages of Acts (xxi. 17, xxvii. 15). The former is, however, found in a papyrus of the third century B.C. and in an inscription of the first century B.C.

[1] *Bezae Codex Cantab.* Introd. p. lii.
[2] *Syr.-Lat. Text of the Gospels*, pp. 63 f.
[3] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 24-5.

If the evidence cannot be said to prove that Luke was a student of Homer, it does, at least, point to his appreciation, in common with contemporary men of letters, of words and phrases with honourable literary connections. A well-known passage in Paul's speech at Jerusalem seems to contain a reminiscence of Euripides. The words are *οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης* (Acts xxi. 39). Euripides (*Ion*, 8) speaks of Athens as *οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις*. *Ἄσημος*, literally "without mark or sign," was properly used of coins of which the impress is indistinct. In the papyri it is used of unstamped silver, though more frequently of men "not distinguished by the scars which were used for purposes of identification in formal documents." Meaning "obscure" and applied to a city, Euripides and Luke alone employ the word. The words of Paul, *σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν* (Acts xxvi. 14), according to Dr. Gardner,[1] form an old Greek proverb used by Aeschylus and Pindar with slight modifications. "It is impossible to say," he adds, "that a Greek proverb may not at the time have been current in Aramaic translation. But it is far more reasonable to think that it belongs to Luke wholly, being introduced as a sort of explanation and modification." In the apologetic utterance of the Unjust Steward, *σκάπτειν οὐκ ἰσκύω* (Luke xvi. 3), Wendland[2] recognises "a Greek proverbial expression," and Harnack[3] "a classical citation," whilst the last-named scholar[4] describes the words found in a "we" passage of Acts, *ἡ Δίκη ζῆν οὐκ εἴασεν* (xxviii. 4), as a "classical reminiscence."

In his famous description of the Athenian char-

[1] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 411.
[2] *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 224.
[3] "Die Rede des Paulus in Athen," *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxix. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*

acter (Acts xxvii. 21) Luke may have written from personal observation and experience. But it may be more than a mere coincidence that several Greek writers before him had remarked the Athenian love of novelty. Thucydides, for example, represents Cleon as saying (ii. 38), "No men are better dupes, sooner deceived by novel notions, or slower to follow approved advice. You despise what is familiar, whilst you are worshippers of every new extravagance." Demosthenes speaks in the same strain (*Epist. Philippi et contra Philip. Orat.* i.): "We, Athenians, I will speak the truth, are sitting here, doing nothing, always listening, making decrees, and making inquiries in the forum if there is anything new."

In the observation of some of the Athenian philosophers with reference to Paul, *ξένων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι* (Acts xvii. 18), Norden[1] heard an echo of the indictment against Socrates, *ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων* (Xen. *Mem.* i. 1. 1), the use of "strange" for "new" indicating merely the usage of the imperial age.

Dependence upon Xenophon is recognised also by John Weiss.[2] Harnack,[3] whilst rejecting the theory of which in Norden's work it forms a part, is in complete agreement: "There can be no doubt about the fact that these words are related to the accusation against Socrates, of which the *Autor ad Theophilum* must have known something."

VI. Luke as Historian

As a historian Luke must not be judged by modern standards. The scientific conception of

[1] *Agnostos Theos*, S. 53.
[2] *Das Urchristentum*, S. 181.
[3] "Die Rede des Paulus in Athen," *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxix. 1.

history is quite a novelty. Ancient historians allowed themselves a freedom in invention which only makers of fiction now enjoy. Nevertheless the third gospel is admirably contrasted by Dr. Burkitt with the first:[1] "The gospel according to Matthew is *a fresh edition of Mark*, revised, rearranged, and enriched with new material; the gospel according to Luke is *a new historical work* made by combining parts of Mark with parts of other documents." In the Acts of the Apostles, Luke's description of places and persons, of offices and practices, is accurate and reliable. True, Luke sets down, almost impartially, the credible and the incredible. He was in this respect a man of his own age. "Belief in superstition," as Dr. Moffatt reminds us, "impairs an early writer's general title to credibility as little as belief in the Phoenix-myth discredits Tacitus as a historian." The notion that Luke worked up his facts to fit into a preconceived theory is now finally exploded. He writes as one who simply seeks to tell the truth. His sources are often scanty and legendary, and his deductions imperfect and misleading, but his tale is unvarnished and straightforward. Such a conclusion, contradicting the dogma of an early school of critics, is the sober declaration of impartial scholarship.

Sir William Ramsay has compared Luke with Thucydides. In his use of speeches Dr. Gardner thinks he stands between the ethical and dramatic tendency of Herodotus and Tacitus, and the rhetorical tendency of Thucydides and Sallust. In some ways he resembles most the unknown historians of the Deuteronomic school to whom we owe the books of Kings. Like them, Luke incorporated sources in his work, if, as an editor, he far surpassed them. As in Kings, so in Acts, there

[1] *Sources for the Life of Jesus*, p. 97.

is a didactic element, though it is neither so prominent nor so predominant in the Christian as in the Hebrew narrative. Unlike Thucydides, Luke is not so much a philosopher of history as a man who records the progress of a movement which he believes to be providentially ordained. He does not, most probably could not, give a complete view of the natural sequence of events, nor attempt, after the manner of the modern historian, to reveal the play of hidden forces. He is less concerned for the profit of posterity than for the needs of a particular circle in his own day. Yet, as Harnack[1] has proved, "Acts is not only, taken as a whole, a genuinely historical work, but even in the majority of its details it is trustworthy." Some of these details have been verified, in a remarkable way, by research and discovery; others, if still regarded with suspicion by certain scholars, have been shown to possess a high degree of credibility.

Luke's account of the "first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria," when every one went "to his own city" (Luke ii. 1-4), until recently was regarded as a tissue of blunders. Amongst the papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus are a large number of census returns, or house-to-house enrolments (*κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*), which prove that the enrolments took place every fourteen years. We possess one return dated A.D. 34 and another which Drs. Grenfell and Hunt[2] on good evidence date A.D. 19–20. "Earlier than A.D. 20 the existence of the fourteen years' cycle is not directly attested, but there is plenty of indirect evidence." "It is *prima facie* a very probable hypothesis that the numbering described by St. Luke was connected with a general census held for 10–9 B.C. Moreover, the papyri are quite con-

[1] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Trans.), p. 298.
[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ii. 209 ff.

sistent with St. Luke's statement that this was the "first enrolment." An official letter-book dated A.D. 104[1] confirms Luke's statement that at the time of a census "every one went to his own city," and though Quirinius was not governor of Syria at the date named, Sir William Ramsay[2] gives reasons for believing that he was in Syria in 8 B.C. —possibly in connection with the census in question. Bernhard Weiss[3] is, therefore, hardly justified in remarking that the two statements in Luke about the enrolment and the date are proved to be incorrect "on clear historical evidence."

Again, the so-called "trial before Herod" in the third gospel has frequently been treated as purely fictitious. "It is," says one critic,[4] "a very patchwork of appropriations from other incidents." Recent studies are much less unfavourable to Luke's reputation as a historian.

Harnack noted that Luke gives us certain information, nowhere else recorded, concerning the relationship of Herod Antipas and his court to Christ and the new religion. Mr. Streeter suggests that the massacre by Pilate of certain Galileans (Luke xiii. 1-5) had led to an estrangement between him and Herod, which was healed by the Roman governor referring the case of Jesus to the Jewish king. He can discover no apologetic motive for the growth of legend, and believes that Luke, perhaps ultimately through Manaen, Herod's σύντροφος (Acts xiii. 1),[5] or Joanna, Herod's steward's wife (Luke viii. 3, xxiv. 10), shows a special interest in and knowledge of the Herods, and has here preserved "an independent and valuable source of information."

[1] British Museum Papyri, 904.
[2] *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 117 ff.
[3] *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, p. 196.
[4] Robinson Smith, *Hibbert Journal*, April 1912.
[5] See p. 218.

Dr. Verrall goes further.[1] He denies the resemblance between the behaviour of Herod Antipas, as described by Luke, and that of the Roman soldiers as described by the rest, which has given rise to the sceptical criticism of Luke's narrative. He argues that Herod, who had acted against his own feelings and will in persecuting the Baptist, "would be rather disinclined than inclined to molest another John who gave no provocation." In fact, there was no trial before Herod, and the common translation and interpretation of Luke xxiii. 8-16 are misleading. Pilate sent Jesus to Herod in order "to ascertain whether or not the Galilean authorities concurred in the accusation." The crucial passage is verse 11, *ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρῴδης σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας, περιβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πειλάτῳ*, which is rendered, "But Herod, with his forces, thought nothing of him, and jesting thereupon, putting on him fine apparel, sent him back to Pilate." Such a person as Christ in the character of a claimant to the throne caused the king some amusement. But being interested in the reports concerning Jesus, he retains his hope "to see some miracle done by him" even when parting with him. The fine apparel was "a royal gift and mark of favour," and it was for this the soldiers cast lots (Luke xxiii. 34-35) as "a valuable perquisite."

The words of Pilate (Luke xxiii. 15) addressed to the accusers of Jesus, and referring to the action of Herod, are current in two texts, *ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*, and *ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν*—the latter a "Western" reading. A third conflate reading of the Syriac and Armenian versions may be neglected.

Dr. Verrall rejects the first reading on the ground

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, x. 321 ff.

that it ignores the essential matter, that it is not in Luke's style, and that the form is not very suitable to the situation in which the procurator and the accusers are not co-operators but rather adversaries. He conjectures that both texts are corrections of an original saying—*ἀνέπεμψε γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. His arguments in support of this emendation are not convincing. A friendly Herod would not hand over Jesus to the tender mercies of men clamouring for his blood, even if they were only prosecutors and not judges in the case.

Assuming the originality of the "Western" reading, the variant may easily be explained. The visit of Christ to Pilate being wrongly interpreted by a scribe as a movement from one court to another, it seemed most natural for the procurator to explain to his hearers Herod's acquittal of the accused by the words *ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. Probably the scribal misinterpretation of the passage was due to the technical use of *ἀναπέμπω* = *remittere*, "to send up to a higher authority," a usage common in the papyri and found in Acts xxv. 21, *ἐκέλευσα τηρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἕως οὗ ἀναπέμψω αὐτὸν πρὸς Καίσαρα*. The apocryphal gospel according to Peter (*circa* A.D. 110–130) represents a still later stage in the legend of "the trial before Herod," exhibiting the king as sitting with Pilate and other judges of our Lord, and playing the leading part in his condemnation.

Dr. Burkitt[1] accepts the general view of Dr. Verrall with the remark, "The inclusion of the story how Herod treated the Good Physician with cynical generosity must be held to illustrate the excellence of St. Luke's historical information rather than his credulity or inventiveness."

Of New Testament writers, it may be added, Luke alone mentions a Roman emperor by name.

[1] *Gospel History and its Transmission*, 3rd ed., Pref.

Unlike Mark, he does not call Herod Antipas a king (Mark vi. 14), but gives to him (Acts xiii. 1) the title of Tetrarch, which he was the only Herod to bear. In Acts (xxv. 13) Luke tells us that Herod Agrippa came to Caesarea to greet Festus, the new governor, invited, presumably as a person acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of Jewish enthusiasts, to take part in the trial of Paul. He came, and Bernice with him, *μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*. It is a detail which verifies itself, reminding one of the pomp with which an Indian prince deems it fitting to appear when summoned to a conference by the Political Agent of the Imperial Government. The woman's apparent readiness to greet the successor of her sister's husband, then out of favour with the Roman authorities, illustrates the insight of a historian familiar with the ways of the women of the family of Herod.

In regard to the chronology of Acts, Harnack, after a careful investigation, concludes that "the book can very well hold its own when compared with the historical works of that period." Besides, as Dr. Sanday reminds us,[1] Luke "had not the advantages that (*e.g.*) Josephus had of living at the centre of the empire, in personal intercourse with the court, and with access to the best authorities. Even with the help of public inscriptions and the like, it cannot have been an easy matter for a provincial like St. Luke to fix exact synchronisms."

In certain respects Luke's accuracy is noteworthy. The variety of city organisations in the Eastern empire, which existed in Luke's time, was a relic of the age of free or confederate city-states, and, as was natural, names were proudly retained when the reality they represented had disappeared. In Acts xvi. 12 we read, "And from thence to Philippi, a city of Macedonia, the first of the district,

[1] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 13.

a colony." From coins and inscriptions we learn that the city was a Roman colony bearing the name of Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensis. The word μερίς translated by the A.V. "part," and by the R.V. "district," for long presented great difficulty. Hort [1] wrote: "μερίς never denotes simply a region, province, or geographical division; when used of land, as of anything else, it means a 'portion' or 'share.'" He suggested that here was a primitive error, and offered a conjectural emendation.

Among the papyri documents found at Fayoum, however, a considerable number use the word to describe the divisions of the district. For example, in a deed of divorce dated A.D. 45 the man and his wife are said to be "of the Heraclides district of the Arsinoite nome," τῆς Ἡρακλίδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου νομοῦ.[2] Fayoum, it is true, is in Egypt and Philippi in Macedonia. But the Κοινή was a language practically without dialects, and "in the first few centuries of our era covered a far larger proportion of the civilised world than even English does to-day." [3] One result of the enthusiasm for Hellenic culture on the part of the Macedonian kings is that of the Macedonian speech proper there does not survive a single phrase or grammatical form. Apart from the widespread character of the Κοινή the connection between Fayoum and Macedonia is established by the fact that the former was colonised by veterans from the army of Alexander.

Even so, the Acts passage is not freed from difficulty. Philippi is called "first" of the district, but Amphipolis was the capital of this division of Macedonia. Consequently Blass detects another error in the text of this verse, and, correcting a supposed dittography, reads "a city of the first

[1] Notes, p. 96. [2] *Berliner griechische Urkunden*, 975.
[2] Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 5.

district of Macedonia." Sir William Ramsay, believing Luke to be a native of Philippi, sees in the description of the city the author's interest and pride in his native place. If Luke, as is more likely, belonged to Antioch, his language must have been coloured by local feeling. A visitor to Leeds might easily write as though it were the first city in Yorkshire, for so it was until the last census, and still is in the opinion of its citizens. At the time when Luke wrote Philippi was on the way to become, as it did later, the chief city of the division. Sir William Ramsay accepts Acts xvi. 12 as evidence that Philippi had begun to claim the title. "The descriptive phrase is like a lightning flash amid the darkness of local history, recording in startling clearness the whole situation to those whose eyes are trained to catch the character of Greek city history and city jealousies." [1] Similarly, the chief magistrates of Philippi were not technically *στρατηγοί*, as Luke calls them. But these men, as Cicero tells us and the inscriptions prove, frequently called themselves "praetors," *στρατηγοί*, and Luke, a good-natured visitor, does not scruple to employ the courtesy title current in the city. These magistrates have their lictors, *ῥαβδοῦχοι* (Acts xvi. 35), a title quite incorrectly used by Luke if he had been speaking of a Greek and not a Roman city.

In the next chapter of Acts we find Paul at Thessalonica. This was a free Greek city with its own constitution, like Athens or Tarsus, and still enjoyed the right of self-government—thanks to the part it had taken against Brutus and Cassius in the civil war. In xvii. 8 the rulers of the city are called *πολιτάρχαι*, a name which does not appear elsewhere in Greek literature. It is none the less correct, for an inscription of Salonica on an arch

[1] *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 206-7.

demolished some years ago relates that it was erected when certain persons were politarchs of the city.

The passage which mentions Philippi is a "we" passage, whilst that describing Thessalonica is not. Both are equally accurate pictures of the cities in question. In his use of the two names for Jerusalem, Luke, according to Codex Bezae, follows rules which are discoverable by investigation (see Excursus II. pp. 40 ff.).

Dr. Headlam[1] has shown that the γραμματεύς (Acts xix. 35) is as distinctive of Ephesus as the πολιτάρχης of Thessalonica, or the Areopagus (xvii. 19) of Athens. In Ephesus ἡ ἐκκλησία (xix. 32) was a survival of the old Greek democracy. It appears in the inscriptions as does also the title of the city, νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. The case is the same with the Ἀσιαρχοί (verse 31), the Ἀνθύπατοι (verse 38), and the Roman Assize. In xxv. 3 Publius the πρῶτος of Melita is introduced. The title appears in an inscription discovered in Malta. In short, as Harnack says, "all the official titles in the book are correct." Amongst these may be included one which the German scholar hardly accepts. The στρατοπεδάρκης, to whom, according to the "Western" text, Paul and his fellow-prisoners were handed over (Acts xxviii. 16), was, as Mommsen explained, the Princeps Peregrinorum — the title which appears in an old Latin version (Gigas)— the head of the centurions employed for the purpose of maintaining communications between the Emperor and the provinces. Preuschen[2] is of opinion that the "Western" reading proceeds from some one well acquainted with Rome, and that it cannot be

[1] *Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 351 f. Cp. Inscription of Palmyrene, A.D. 131; Cooke, *Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 281.

[2] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 158.

original, since there is no reason why it should have been omitted from the earlier uncials. The first statement may be accepted. Luke, when he wrote Acts, was well acquainted with Rome. As for the second objection, the omission may be due to the correction of a scribe imperfectly acquainted with the functions of the στρατοπεδάρκης.

John Weiss[1] pays tribute to the numerous statements in Acts which cannot have been invented, are archaeologically accurate, and confirmed by contemporary sources and inscriptions (vi. 1, 9; xiii. 7; xiv. 11; xvi. 9, 12, 14, 20, 22, 24, 35, 37 ff.; xvii. 6; xviii. 12 ff.), especially the story of Demetrius "which can be illustrated sentence by sentence from the inscriptions" (xxii. 24 ff.; xxiii. 23, 26; xxiv. 3; xxv. 1, 10 ff., 12, 16, 21, 23; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 16, 30, 31). He acknowledges also the very valuable information given relating to the popular religion (xiv. 11 ff.; xvi. 16 ff.; xviii. 6, 18; xix. 11 ff., 14 ff.; xx. 7; xxi. 4, 10 ff.), and to the spread of Christianity (xi. 19 ff.; xviii. 24 ff.; xix. 1 ff.).

In one particular Luke is often convicted of carelessness and incompetence as a historian. Most scholars who deny the Lucan authorship of Acts, and a few who do not, hold that the author of the third gospel and of Acts made some use of Josephus. The evidence for this is derived from the references in the speech of Gamaliel to Theudas and Judas the Galilean (Acts v. 33 f.), and the mention in the gospel of Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene (iii. 1, 2). In both passages, if indebtedness to Josephus be proved, Luke has fallen into serious chronological errors through extraordinarily careless use of his authority. There is no exact parallel in the Lucan writings to such gross carelessness. The legendary elements and mistakes discovered by

[1] *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bd. iii. S. 2196.

Harnack and others are not to the point in this connection, whilst Luke's editing of Mark, and, so far as we can make it out, of "Q," do not support the theory of his misreading of Josephus. On the contrary, Luke would seem to have been historian enough to know the importance of accuracy in the citation of authorities, unless he was in a position to correct their statements. And as his preface to the gospel shows, he was consciously striving to write *ἀκριβῶς* and *καθεξῆς*.

Blass would solve the difficulty in regard to the Acts passage by presuming a Christian interpolation in the text of Josephus, whilst Dr. Selwyn [1] assumes the identification of Theudas with a certain Athronges, said by Josephus to have set himself up for a king. Professor Torrey,[2] however, has proved that Luke is simply following an Aramaic source which was indebted to some history of the period "in which the facts were not clearly stated." "He could not easily have obtained it from the *Antiquities*, for the correct statement is given there very plainly and briefly; and that that was *not* his source is shown by the number 'four hundred' in Acts v. 36." [3] At most, apparently, Luke can be convicted only of following his source with singular fidelity. The statement in the gospel (iii. 1) that "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar . . . Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene" remains to be considered. The chronology is clearly erroneous, since Lysanias the tetrarch was executed by Mark Antony in the year 56 B.C. But the territory that Lysanias had ruled over continued to bear his name. Josephus speaks of the so-called kingdom of Lysanias, *ἑτέραν βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου καλουμένην* (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 5). In

[1] *St. Luke the Prophet*, pp. 331 ff.
[2] See "Luke the Linguist," pp. 66 ff.
[3] *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 71.

Ant. xx. 7 Josephus relates that in A.D. 53 Agrippa II. received the tetrarchy of Philip, and Batanaea together with Trachonitis and Abila, adding that this last had formerly been the tetrarchy of Lysanias. "Can we doubt," asks Dr. Burkitt,[1] "that the third evangelist was writing with this passage of Josephus in his mind?" But if the province was "so-called" he might have found it, as Professor Torrey urges, "in any source he laid his hand on." Obviously Luke's dependence upon the Jewish historian is not the only possible explanation of what are, at least, curious coincidences. Perhaps the Scottish verdict "not proven" best meets the case.

We may conclude that if Luke cannot be ranked among the great ecclesiastical historians, he may fairly claim to be the first of a long illustrious line of scholars, who have investigated the origins of Christianity and sketched the progress of the early church.

VII. Luke's Style

Of Luke's style as a writer something has been already said. Norden[2] distinguishes the style of the gospel from that of Acts. The writer of the former "for good reasons and with a fine feeling" did not work over his sources so freely as in the latter work. Again, recognising different strata and different styles in Acts, the presence of the same figure (litotes) in passages (xix. 11, xxviii. 2) presumably from different hands presents a problem which the critic cannot be said to have solved. Such phenomena are explained by the traditional theory of the unity of the book. The contrast, also, to which Norden alludes between the manner of Stephen's speech (chap. vii.) and that of Paul (chap. xxii.)

[1] *Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 109, 110.
[2] *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Bd. ii. S. 482-92.

is made intelligible by Professor Torrey's theory of the sources of Acts.

The judgement of Mr. Simcox[1] on Luke's writing is both cautious and critical. "The language never ceases to be Hellenistic; however marked or however successful the effort at classical style may be, we usually see that it *is* an effort. Perhaps it may even be said that he sometimes gets out of his depth when the effort is long continued, and in trying to be elegant ceases to be correct."

This estimate must now be modified in view (*a*) of the "translation Greek" due to the author's fidelity to his sources,[2] (*b*) of the fact that many instances of incorrect Greek formerly adduced have been shown to belong to the Κοινή. In Acts xix. 16 the seven sons of Sceva seem to have become two (ἀμφότεροι), and in xxiii. 8 the same adjective is used of three articles of Pharisaical belief. The Bezan text, omitting ἑπτά in xix. 14, avoids the apparent error, but it is impossible to see how the "Neutral" text arose if it be really secondary. Dr. Moulton[3] is driven to conclude that the text is corrupt, or that "the verses are an interpolation from a less educated source." The papyri examples illustrating this usage of ἀμφότεροι are late—an early example (13 B.C.)[4] being open to another interpretation—but in view of the papyri evidence, the "undeniable Byzantine use of the term," and the fact that the Sahidic and later versions took the word to mean "all," it is not impossible that Radermacher, Preuschen, and Robertson are right in supposing the word has this sense in Acts xix. 16. A colloquial or vernacular usage is certainly not out of place in the popular narrative of Acts xix. 11-20. In xxiii. 8 it is more probable that ἄγγελον

[1] *Writers of the New Testament*, p. 22.
[2] See "Luke the Linguist."
[3] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 80.
[4] *Berliner griechische Urkunden*, 1057.

and πνεῦμα form a single idea, and that ἀμφότερα is used in the stricter and older sense. Again, in the Κοινή the dative often expresses extension of time. Thus πολλοῖς χρονοῖς (Luke viii. 29) is supported in the sense of the R.V.[m] "of a long time" by the constantly recurring formula in papyri letters, ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομα πολλοῖς χρόνοις.[1] On the other hand, the accusative could be used in the common speech to express point of time, as in Acts xx. 16. Ἐάν with the indicative (Luke xix. 40, Acts viii. 31) is found in the papyri. Εἴκοσι even before a vowel, as in Acts i. 5, is the regular form in the papyri. Ἔστωσαν (Luke xii. 35) is attested both by the inscriptions and papyri. Ἐκ to denote price (Acts i. 18) has numerous papyri parallels. Ἐκτένεια, unknown to Attic Greek, is found in its ethical meaning as in Acts xxvi. 7 (alone in New Testament). Such illustrations might be multiplied. The triple negative of Luke xxiii. 53 illustrates the vernacular style of our author.

In Acts xix. Luke, as we now perceive, manifests an acquaintance with the current terminology of magic, *e.g.* Πρᾶξις (xix. 8) is a technical term for a particular spell, and is mistranslated by "deed" in our English versions.

In Luke, as in the rest of the writers of the New Testament, are also found many words formerly denominated biblical, but now proved by the papyri to be merely popular Greek. Luke's language, says Robertson,[2] "is that of a man of culture with a cosmopolite tone, who yet knows how to be popular also." It cannot be said of Luke as of Tertullian the Latin father, or of Carlyle the Scottish historian, that "the style is the man." He is not, like Luther, idiomatic, racy, and colloquial, impressing his personality and precepts on his readers by the power of his pen. He does not

[1] British Museum Papyri, 417.

[2] *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 122.

possess the passion of Paul or the polish of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.

But when all is said, Luke is a versatile and accomplished writer, and as evangelist and historian exhibits the scholarship, graces, and temper which entitle him to rank amongst Hellenist men of letters.

EXCURSUS I

The reading Ἑλληνιστάς (Acts xi. 20) is supported by B, D^b, E_2, H_2, L_2, P_2, and all cursives but one. Ἕλληνας, says Hort, "is probably 'Western.'" It is the reading of $\aleph^c$, D*, A, 112. Transcriptional evidence is in favour of the former, as the word is "so rare that it is no longer extant, except in a totally different sense, anywhere but in Acts, and two or three late Greek interpretations of the Acts; more especially when the change introduced an apparent difficulty." But Hort admits that Ἕλληνας has at least *prima facie* intrinsic evidence in its favour. Most editors and commentators read the latter on the ground that the sense of the passage as a whole requires it.

Wendt, however, accepts Ἑλληνιστάς, but in the sense of Ἕλληνας, *i.e.* Greek-speaking non-Jews. It is a considerable support for the "Western" reading that all the MSS. which read Ἑλληνιστάς, except B, omit καί, since there is no point in the words "*also* to the Grecians," as Hellenists had been members of the church from the first (see vi. 1 and list in chap. ii.).

Dr. Bacon holds that the source behind Acts xi. 20 must have read Ἕλληνας, "as the sense requires," but the author wrote Ἑλληνιστάς under the influence of his ruling idea of the twelve Apostles at Jerusalem as the "sole board of commissioners for foreign missions"[1] —a theory which assumes a low view of the *auctor ad Theophilum*. Possibly the change to Ἑλληνιστάς in most

[1] *The Story of St. Paul*, pp. 85, 89.

MSS. was due to consideration of the fact that Paul was *par excellence* the apostle to the Gentiles, though, as Wendt observes, "he nowhere claims to have been in point of time the first preacher of the gospel to the heathen."

EXCURSUS II

Ἱεροσόλυμα AND Ἱερουσαλήμ IN LUKE AND ACTS [CODEX BEZAE]

In his discussion of Luke's topographical knowledge, Harnack[1] remarks that the name given to the centre of Judaea and of Christendom is of itself a matter of the deepest interest. "Ἱεροσόλυμα," he says, "is only used by Luke in the gospel where he has no source before him, and in the purely geographical sense." "The same attitude towards the names is plainly discernible in chapters i.-vii. of the Acts and in the 'we' sections." On the other hand, Harnack confesses "that the variations in Acts, chapters viii.-xxi., omitting the 'we' sections, are not to be explained," *i.e.* Luke here (though he prefers Ἱερουσαλήμ) keeps to no rule, but in chapters i.-vii., in the "we" sections, and in xxii.-xxviii., "his rule can be clearly discerned." Briefly stated, the rule referred to is that Ἱεροσόλυμα is used in topographical notices, and when, as in xxv. 1, 7, 9, 15, 20, 24, xxvi. 4, 10, 20, xxviii. 17, Jerusalem is spoken of in some other city as Caesarea or Rome, whilst in Jerusalem itself (*e.g.* xxiii. 5, 17, 18, xxiii. 11, xxiv. 11, xxv. 3) the Biblical name is employed, as it is in scenes of solemnity.

In his investigation, Harnack, as he expressly states, left Codex Bezae "out of consideration." An examination of Luke's usage based on the neglected manuscript partly confirms and partly corrects the Lucan rule deduced from the "Neutral" text.

[1] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Trans.), p. 78.

(1) In the gospel (ii. 24) Ἱεροσόλυμα is read by D with the older MSS., ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. It is in a section peculiar to Luke, and although the context might suggest a reference to the sanctity of the capital, the evangelist thinks of the city only in a geographical sense.

(2) In ii. 42 the name of the city is omitted by D with ℵ, B. A and C read Ἱεροσόλυμα, which is inappropriate, since the passage speaks of the journey of Jesus to Jerusalem, at the age of twelve, in order to become a "son of the law."

(3) In v. 17, where it is stated that "there were sitting by the Pharisees and doctors of the law which were come out of every village of Galilee and Judaea and Jerusalem," D omits the words καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ read by ℵ, B, in a geographical list.

(4) Again, in vi. 17, instead of "a great number of the people from all Judaea and Jerusalem and the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon," where a geographical sense lies on the surface, D omits Ἱερουσαλήμ, reading simply "from all Judaea and other cities," an inexact phrase which may have provoked the correction of scribes.

(5) In xiii. 22 D differs from ℵ, B, in reading Ἱερουσαλήμ, where it is said that Jesus went "through cities and villages teaching and journeying on towards Jerusalem." The words form part of an introduction to a "Q" passage.

(6) In xiv. 28 D reads Ἱερουσαλήμ against all the uncials, where the narrative relates how Jesus went up to Jerusalem for the last time to be received by the populace with rejoicing as the coming Messiah. It is a Marcan passage, and the parallels in the first and second gospels read Ἱεροσόλυμα.

(7) In xviii. 31 D, supported by B, reads Ἱερουσαλήμ, when Jesus "took unto him the twelve, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all the things that are written by the prophets shall be accomplished unto the Son of Man"—a Marcan passage, where Matthew and Mark read Ἱεροσόλυμα.

(8) In xxiii. 7 D reads Ἱεροσόλυμα with the rest of the MSS., where it is said of Pilate that "when he knew that Jesus was of Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him unto Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem in those days." According to Codex Bezae, therefore, Luke, in his gospel, when describing our Lord's entry, of his own choice, into Jerusalem, for the purpose of discharging his functions as the Messiah (xiii. 12, xiv. 28, xviii. 31), employed the more sacred name for the capital, whereas when the action of his parents in taking him as a babe to the city (ii. 24) and of Pilate in sending him there as a prisoner is described, the geographical term is used. In xiv. 28, xviii. 31 the dissidence of the text of Codex Bezae in Luke from that of the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark, in view of the harmonising tendencies of scribes, furnishes a strong presumption of its originality. The omission of Ἱερουσαλήμ in v. 17, vi. 17 testifies to Luke's dislike of the use of the sacred name in a mere geographical sense, and in the rest of the gospel it is nowhere found as one of a list of names.

Of Luke's usage in Acts, chapters i.-vi., Harnack observes "the author has only once written Ἱεροσόλυμα (i. 4), where he tells us that our Lord commanded his disciples not to depart at once from the place Jerusalem; as for the rest of the passage, everything in the early history of the Church is of so lofty a character that he only speaks of Ἱερουσαλήμ (11 times)."

(1) In these chapters D presents but one slight variant (v. 16), "And there came also together the multitude from the cities round about *unto* Jerusalem," εἰς being inserted before Ἱερουσαλήμ; in other words, Luke avoids the use of the sacred name in a merely topographical way, for the multitudes were bringing their sick to be healed. The scene depicted is, of course, in the city.

(2) In i. 8 the capital is called Ἱερουσαλήμ, and linked with Judaea and Samaria, but it is spoken of as a place

in which the apostles were *to witness for Christ* (cp. viii. 26, x. 39, xii. 25, xv. 2). In the "we" sections, as Harnack says, "the reason for the variation between the two forms of the name is quite evident; in xx. 16, xxi. 4, 15, 17, Ἱεροσόλυμα is written because the author is concerned simply with topographical notices." In these sections there is no variant in D, but in xxi. 4 only the Latin text "hierosolyma" has been preserved. "But among these verses," continues Harnack, "stands a saying of the prophet Agabus; here we read in *oratio directa* (xxi. 11) τὸν ἄνδρα . . . δήσουσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, and now the bystanders take up the word Ἱερουσαλήμ (xxi. 12), and also Paul says (xxi. 13) ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἑτοίμως ἔχω. The Biblical form Ἱερουσαλήμ alone suited the solemnity of the whole scene." In this passage Codex Bezae presents no variant in the name of the city. In chapters xxii.-xxviii. Ἱερουσαλήμ occurs only six times, and Ἱεροσόλυμα ten times. The former is used when the city is spoken of in Jerusalem itself, and the latter when it is spoken of elsewhere. In Codex Bezae, of the six Ἱερουσαλήμ passages three are in sections not extant, one (xxii. 5) is found in the Greek, and two (xxii. 17, 18) only in the Latin. These last three occur in Paul's address to the Jerusalem crowd. Of the ten Ἱεροσόλυμα passages none have survived in Codex Bezae. In chapters viii.-xi. Harnack can discover no rule observed by Luke.

An examination of Codex Bezae yields the following results:

(3) In viii. 26 Ἱερουσαλήμ is found in a geographical sense, but the words are *spoken by an angel of the Lord.*

(4) In the following verse, the same word in relating that the eunuch had come to Jerusalem *to worship.*

The instances in the "Neutral" text of Ἱερουσαλήμ in ix. 2, 13, 21, 26, 28 are not found in D—the verses being missing from the MS.

(5) In x. 39 Peter says "we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the country of the Jews and in

Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ)"—a reference to the *ministry of Christ.*

(6) In xi. 22 it is said that the report concerning the *conversions* in Antioch came to the ears of the church which was in Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ).

(7) In xii. 25 is related the return from Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ) of Barnabas and Saul, when they had fulfilled their *ministry.*

(8) Chapter xiii. 31 tells of the *appearance of Christ* to them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ).

(9) In xv. 2 the journey of Paul and Barnabas is recorded when they went up to Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ) to discuss *the question of circumcision.*

(10) In xv. 4 they were received at Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ) by "the apostles and elders, and *rehearsed all things that God had done with them.*"

(11) In one passage (xiii. 27) Luke puts Ἱερουσαλήμ into the mouth of Paul in order to heighten the effect of the Apostle's argument: "they which dwell at Jerusalem and their rulers . . . *fulfilled the prophets* by condemning the Messiah."

Twice Codex Bezae reads Ἱεροσόλυμα where the "Neutral" text has Ἱερουσαλήμ, namely xi. 2, xx. 22. In both cases *a hostile reception* is reported or expected in the capital by the missionaries of the gospel.

(12) "And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that were of the circumcision contended with him."

(13) "Behold," said Paul, "I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there."

(14) In the next verse D adds ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, and the words of the Apostle are continued, "save that the Holy Ghost in every city testifieth to me saying that *bonds and affliction* await me in Jerusalem." Obviously, in the mind of Luke, the city of contention and persecution is not the holy city.

(15) In xviii. 21 Codex Bezae, with other "Western"

authorities, adds a reason for Paul's hasty departure from Ephesus: (εἶπε) δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Here at first sight the sacred name would seem to be more suitable. The geographical term is employed because the passage of which this clause forms a part is the record of a journey, verse 18 to Syria, 19 to Ephesus, verse 21 to Caesarea, verse 22 to Antioch, and verse 23 to the region of Galatia and Phrygia.

In Acts the rule observed by Luke, according to Codex Bezae, is that Ἱεροσόλυμα is used in passages where a geographical term is required, or where the city is regarded as the scene of opposition to the Apostles or of their persecution, whilst Ἱερουσαλήμ is the name associated in various ways with religious observances and supernatural phenomena. Having regard to Luke's exactness of nomenclature in his gospel and in Acts, the rules traceable in his use of these two names in Codex Bezae confirm in some measure the value of its text.

CHAPTER II

LUKE THE LINGUIST

THAT Luke, university student, Greek physician, Jewish proselyte, and Christian author, may have been a linguist in virtue of his birth and residence in Antioch of Syria, his education, his conversion to Christianity and subsequent travels is a hypothesis not lightly to be dismissed. Its verification is none the less a task of some difficulty.

I. LUKE WRITES ONLY IN GREEK

The evangelist and historian does not quote words or phrases from another tongue than his own, as Cicero does Greek in his letters to Atticus. The reason is not far to seek. Atticus was a master of both Greek and Latin, and probably often wrote wholly in Greek. Cicero himself was proud of his Greek, and used it to supply what was wanting in Latin, as we use French, and for technical terms, especially medical, much as our physician's prescriptions are written in Latin. Those for whom Luke wrote, his dedication to the most excellent Theophilus notwithstanding, belonged to the lower or the middle classes. In the churches addressed by Paul in his letters were "*not many* wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble." Unlike the great Roman orator, Luke was not a *poseur*, and his

themes were lofty and serious. That his friend and companion Paul knew both Aramaic and Latin is probable, though for all we know he wrote nothing in either language. Apparently, however, it was by speaking in Aramaic, τῇ Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ (Acts xxi. 40), that he silenced the Jerusalem mob, whilst at Lystra (chap. xiv.) he may have spoken in Latin.

But Greek was the language of the Roman Empire, commanding almost universal allegiance. Even in Rome itself a countless multitude spoke Greek—the language also of the Jewish community there. The decrees of the Roman Senate and imperial governors were translated into the world language to be scattered over the Empire. Paul wrote to the Roman Church in Greek, and Marcus Aurelius, the Roman Emperor, wrote his meditations in Greek. The Κοινή was the language not only of letters, but even more of commerce and everyday life. It was the *lingua franca* of the civilized world, as Latin was in Europe during the Middle Ages, and as English is to-day in India and in the British Empire generally.

II. Latin Phrases in the Κοινή

A few Latin words and phrases were, indeed, current in Greek-speaking countries, especially those pertaining to government, much as French expressions relating to fashions and the table have passed into English; only, as the papyri prove, Latinisms in Greek were by no means confined to cultured or city people.

A French scholar[1] thus sums up the influence of Latin on the Κοινή: "Une administration puissante et organisée comme l'était l'administration romaine

[1] Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, pp. 346-7.

a introduit ses termes techniques. Dès l'abord, l'usage s'est introduit de publier les décrets officiels à la fois en latin et en grec, et il a fallu mettre en grec les termes officiels. Dès le iie siècle av. J.-C., il entre des mots tels que *νωναί* ou *καλάνδαι*. Un écrivain qui, comme Polybe, s'occupe de choses romaines emploie couramment des mots tels que *πατρίκιος* et va jusqu'à culquer des expressions latines et écrit *ὑπ' ἄξουσίαν τινὸς ἄγειν* pour traduire *sub potestatem redigere*. A Délos, en 80 av. J.-C., apparaît *πάτρων*, et le mot est si bien entré dans l'usage que l'on en a le féminin *πατρώνισσα* dès l'époque d'Auguste. . . . Les mots *λεγεών*, *κουστωδία* sont cependant déjà dans l'Évangile, et même *τίτλος* dans l'Évangile de Jean. A l'époque impériale, on écrit *οὐετρανός*, *κεντυρία*, *τάβελλα*, *κλάσση*, qui se lisent sur des papyrus. Mais il ne s'agit à peu près que de termes techniques désignant des choses romaines, et le nombre de mots latins qui ont passé en grec à l'époque antique est toujours resté petit."

The close contact of Greek and Latin throughout the history of the Κοινή leads Dr. Moulton to declare that "the question of Latinisms in Greek or Graecisms in Latin must always lie outside the range of really decisive answer." [1]

Dr. Swete [2] doubts whether the Latin words in the second gospel prove more than a "familiarity with the vulgar Greek of the Empire, which freely adopted Latin words, and some Latin phraseology." And of the nine Latin words used by Mark, Luke retains only two. In Wellhausen's opinion,[3] however, *δὸς ἐργασίαν* (Luke xii. 58), translated by the Latin text and by Jerome "da operam," is a more striking Latinism than the Latin words found

[1] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 21.
[2] *Commentary on St. Mark*, p. 2.
[3] *Das Evangelium Lucae*, S. 70.

in Mark. But Deissmann[1] has noted the use of ἐργασίαν δίδωμι in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus letter of the vulgar type in the first century B.C., and also in an inscription in Caria with a decree of the Senate.

Harnack[2] adds to Luke's Latinisms the use in Acts of the relative to conjoin sentences, and probably also the use of χρῆσθαι (Acts xxvi. 28), whilst Schmiedel[3] would explain Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι (Acts xi. 26) as a Latinism—the equivalent of "Christianum agere." Some scholars would also understand the phrase ἔχε με παρῃτημένον (Luke xiv. 18, 19) as the exact equivalent of "habe me excusatum." There is perhaps more to be said for the phrase οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας (Acts i. 5) as a literal rendering of the Latin "non post multos hos dies." The Vulgate has it also in Luke xv. 13, where Codex Bezae alone reads οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. The Vulgate "non post multum" of Acts xxvii. 14 may also point back to a Greek original, οὐ μετὰ πολύ, though it is not found in the MSS. This Latinism appears to have become part of the Greek vulgar tongue, and to have been corrected by the later scribes who copied the Uncials. Another Latinism has also been recognised in Acts xvii. 9, λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανόν—a Roman legal phrase being "satis accipere" or "exigere," to take security, the opposite of which is "satis dare." But, according to Dr. Moulton,[4] τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν is as old as Polybius.

In the speech of Tertullus before Felix (Acts xxiv.) a translation from the Latin has been detected, and πρόνοια and ἐπιείκεια said to be Greek renderings of the terms "providentia" and "clementia" employed by the Roman advocate.

[1] *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 117 f.
[2] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Trans.), p. 50.
[3] *Ency. Biblica*, i. 754.
[4] *The Expositor*, 1903, p. 115.

Again, the Greek word ἀκατάκριτος (Acts xvi. 37, xxii. 25) seems curiously to misrepresent what Paul must have said, since the word in its context suggests that the flogging of a Roman citizen is allowable after a formal trial. Sir William Ramsay[1] explains the term thus: "No *civis Romanus* would claim his rights in Greek. Paul claimed them in the Roman tongue, and we may fairly understand that the officials of a Roman colony were expected to understand Latin. The phrase which Paul used was most probably 'res incognita,' 'without investigating our case.' Luke, however, had the true Greek inability to sympathise with the delicacies of Roman usage, and translated the Latin by a term which would in some circumstances be a fair representative, but not in these cases."

So far as the evidence goes, it may be said that there is nothing to show that Luke possessed any real knowledge of Latin. At most, he probably enjoyed only such acquaintance with the language as might fall to the lot of a Greek traveller in the first century, who happened to be the friend and companion of a Roman citizen of Tarsus whose religious views brought him not infrequently into hostile relations with the Roman authorities.

III. Did Luke know Aramaic?

Did Luke know Aramaic? The question has been answered in the affirmative and in the negative by distinguished scholars. Dalman, Jülicher, Dr. Moulton, and Archdeacon Allen say "No" with differing degrees of emphasis. Harnack, Nestle, Dr. Stanton, and Dr. Moffatt say "Yes" with more or less hesitation.

It may be granted that a native of Syrian Antioch, though of Greek stock, might easily be acquainted

[1] *St. Paul*, p. 225.

with Aramaic, just as an Englishman born in Wales and resident there until manhood would surprise no one if he showed some knowledge of the vernacular of the principality. But a cultured Greek of Antioch would not, save for strong and singular reasons, betray signs in his Greek of an early Aramaic environment, any more than a Welsh-born English man of letters would write English with a Welsh idiom. The spoken and the written language are not the same. As Dr. Moulton remarks,[1] "Englishman, Scotchman, American, Colonials, granted a tolerable primary education, can interchange familiar letters without betraying except in trifles the dialect of their daily speech." "We may add that a highly educated speaker of standard English, recognisable by his intonation as hailing from London, Edinburgh, or New York, can no longer thus be recognised when his words are written down."

If Aramaisms, then, are discoverable in Luke's writings they must be accounted for. The author of the preface to the third gospel is not a slipshod writer like the illiterate papyri scribes of Egypt whose pronunciation often marred their spelling. And Egyptian traits in the papyri[2] "are to be looked for rather in the region of phonetics than in accidence and syntax." "In the Ptolemaic papyri Mayser finds no more than twenty-three words which are probably Egyptian; fourteen only of these are words which are unknown to the older literature, whilst only a single instance of Coptic syntactical influence has been discovered in the whole papyrus collection."

Aramaisms in Luke's works would point (*a*) to his use of Aramaised Greek sources taken over with little emendation, or (*b*) to direct translation from Aramaic with a rather imperfect knowledge of the

[1] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 19.
[2] Thackeray, *Grammar of Old Testament Greek*, i. 20.

Semitic tongue, and with a peculiar anxiety to keep close to the original text.

The first alternative is preferred by Dr. Moulton and other scholars who cannot altogether deny the presence of Aramaisms in the third gospel and in Acts. There is little that is attractive about it. Mark's Aramaisms, in general, were treated with little respect by the third evangelist, whilst in "Luke the Editor"[1] his careful though critical handling of an Aramaised source is illustrated in detail.

In any case there is no need to suppose that Luke had much of a grasp of Aramaic. The Greeks, like the English, were poor linguists, and very proud of the universal sovereignty of their speech. Even Josephus, a one-time Jewish priest, who wrote the *Jewish War* in Aramaic, had to translate it into Greek for Roman readers, and the original perished. To the Gentile evangelist and historian a perfect acquaintance with Aramaic would be almost a luxury.

The question whether Luke possessed any knowledge of Aramaic is unfortunately complicated by the fact that the Κοινή includes, or at least permits, idioms that are quite at home in Aramaic. The precise number and value of these coincidences are subjects of some dispute, and only approximately determined with difficulty.

Occasionally, as Dr. Moulton recognised, an idiom just possible in the Κοινή is overworked in the New Testament because it literally translates some Aramaic phrase. The same phenomenon is found in the Old Testament in Greek as between Hebrew and Greek.

It would appear that Wellhausen has rather over-estimated the number of Semitisms in the New Testament, and that Deissmann has minimised their number and importance.

[1] See pp. 92 ff.

The investigation of Luke's Aramaisms may begin with the admissions of those sceptical of his knowledge of Aramaic.

The use of the auxiliary verb "to begin" where nothing at all is said of any further development, so common in the Gospels, is a well-known Aramaic idiom. Matt. iii. 9 has μὴ δόξητε λέγειν where Luke iii. 8 reads μὴ ἄρξησθε λέγειν. Dalman[1] admits that Matthew's version is only "a *constructio ad sensum* in better Greek." Dr. Moulton[2] agrees that it is "manifestly a deliberate improvement of an original preserved more exactly by Luke."

Archdeacon Allen,[3] after investigating the use of ἤρξατο - αντο, concludes "(*a*) the construction was not congenial to the editor of the first gospel; (*b*) St. Luke does not care for St. Mark's use of 'began' when used as in Aramaic as a mere auxiliary, but *does not feel able to edit the construction out of sayings with the same freedom as in narrative.*" The italics are mine. Dr. Moulton attributes Luke's preservation of the Aramaic idiom to his desire for accuracy being superior to his love of good Greek. Archdeacon Allen proves that this applies only to sayings. All three scholars assume that rough Greek translations formed the source of the evangelist's Aramaisms. "The construction in Luke," says the Archdeacon, "is partly due to the Aramaised Greek of his sources, partly to his feeling that 'began to' is often quite natural in Greek (especially in such phrases as 'began to say') even when 'began' has no special emphasis."

A few variants in the Matthean and Lucan versions of "Q" have been shown by Nestle and Wellhausen to be different renderings of one original.

[1] *The Words of Jesus* (Eng. Trans.), p. 27.
[2] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 15.
[3] *Commentary on Mark*, pp. 48-49.

Matthew (x. 12) reads *εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν* for which Luke (x. 5) has *εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν, πρῶτον λέγετε εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ.* The latter is the Aramaic form of greeting, and is supported by the continuation in Matt. x. 13 *καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ ἡ οἰκία ἀξία, ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτήν κ.τ.λ.* This instance is the more noteworthy since Luke, almost alone in the New Testament, uses *εἰρήνη* in the classical sense of exemption from the havoc of war, *e.g.* Luke xiv. 32, Acts xii. 20, xxiv. 2.

Again, for Matt. xxiii. 25 *καθαρίζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας* Luke has (xi. 39) *τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ πίνακος καθαρίζετε τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν γέμει ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας.* In the original Aramaic two participles would be used, the second of which "Matthew" or the Greek translator before him, has misunderstood, and so made "cups and platters" to be full of extortion and excess. Luke has apprehended the meaning of the source without reproducing it quite literally, substituting the more general words *πίναξ* and *πονηρία* for *παροψίς* and *ἀκρασία.* In what follows, however (Matt. xxiii. 26 = Luke xi. 41), Luke has confused the two verbs דכיו "cleanse" and זכיו "give alms," which differ little in sound and originally were identical. The various renderings of Luke's Greek by the Old Latin and Vulgate versions, and by interpreters from Beza onwards rather indicate that the evangelist kept close to his source, as he read it, even at the expense of intelligibility. Dr. McNeile has noted other instances where the difference between the Matthew and Lucan versions of "Q" seem to be explicable by reference to an Aramaic original.

Scholars generally have denied a common Aramaic source for the non-Marcan matter in Matthew and Luke because of the difficulty of supposing that

the two evangelists translated independently from such a source.

"They could not have hit so generally upon the same order of words, especially where many other arrangements would have done as well (and occasionally better), nor would they have agreed in the translation of an Aramaic word by the same unusual Greek word, as notably in the ἐπιούσιον of the Lord's Prayer." [1]

The difference between $Q^{Mt.}$ and $Q^{Lk.}$ and their likeness in certain striking details have led to the view, commonly accepted, that there were two Greek translations of the original Aramaic "Q," or two recensions of the same translation which have had different histories. The earlier hypothesis that Matthew and Luke used substantially the same text of "Q," despite the scholarship spent upon it by various eminent scholars, cannot be said to be established. The divergences between "Q" in Matthew and "Q" in Luke are too wide to be ascribed to the literary activity of the evangelists themselves. This is but one of the causes of difference.

The main cause, according to Bernhard Weiss, is Luke's use of his peculiar source (L). With conspicuous acuteness the great German scholar isolates various characteristics in thought and language of a document which Luke used as a third source, that in part covered the same ground as Mark and "Q" but was more comprehensive than the latter. All the materials in the gospel belong to these three sources, and, in a large measure, the differences from $Q^{Mt.}$ in $Q^{Lk.}$ (so called) are ascribed to the third evangelist's use of (L). This solution of the problem raises difficulties of its own. Granted the theory of "Q" and (L), then, as Harnack urges, "exact proofs as to the analysis are impossible in

[1] Patton, *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 123.

the case of two unknowns."[1] What is more, the character of Luke that emerges in Weiss's discussions is hardly that of the editor, translator, and author who appears in Acts. "One sees in him the forerunner of Tatian and the later harmonists."[2]

Dr. Stanton[3] suggests that an Aramaic original of "Q" appeared in two Greek translations, one intended for the Jews, the other for the Gentiles, and the translator of the latter omitted all that he deemed unsuitable for Gentiles including ἠκούσατε . . . ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν (Matt. v.) in the sayings on Retaliation, and on Love and Hatred; and having omitted the condemnations of hypocrisy in alms, prayer, and fasting, he added the Woes (Luke vi. 24 ff.). But as Dr. McNeile observes:[4] "It is true that Luke would hardly have ventured to set aside the passage on the Law if he had found it ready translated in his document; but it is scarcely less improbable that a translator would have set it aside if he had found it in his Aramaic document." Perhaps the latter alternative may be said to be the more improbable of the two in view of the early date at which such a translator must have done his work, and of the high respect in which the Law was held by Aramaic-speaking Christians of the Apostolic Age. Having regard to the complicated and, it must be admitted, only partially satisfactory solutions of the problem of "Q," it is not surprising that two recent writers have sought to get rid of the difficulties by the simple expedient of getting rid of "Q," in the German phrase, "emptying out the baby with the bath." Mr. Robinson Smith and Mr. Lummis thus maintain that Luke used the first gospel. Incidentally, this way out disposes of the question of

[1] *Theologische Literaturzeit*, 1908, S. 468.
[2] *Ibid.* S. 466.
[3] *Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 80-84.
[4] *Commentary on Matthew*, pp. 100-101.

Luke's knowledge of Aramaic, so far, at least, as the evidence of his gospel is concerned.

The objections to this theory based upon the "very great divergencies between the two gospels where such divergencies would not be expected" are well known and need no elaboration. Mr. Smith, however, boldly pushes the theory to the furthest point, and declares that Luke [1] "in handling his Marcan material blurs, obliterates, blunders, fabricates, falsifies, flattens out, mutilates, murders," and "precisely as Mark fares at his hands so does Matthew fare—only the results are more serious."

Even making full allowance for the lure of alliteration, this indictment of Luke is serious. Happily the evidence on which the evangelist is convicted of criminal proceedings proves quite flimsy upon a dispassionate examination of it. Mr. Smith's argument rests upon the supposed manner in which Mark has been used by Matthew and Luke respectively. "Where a choice from two or more Marcan expressions has been made, the first choice falls to Matthew and the second to Luke." Mr. Patton shows that all the instances alleged, *e.g.* Mark x. 29 (Matt. xix. 29; Luke xviii. 29) cannot be brought under the operation of this rule, and that in most cases a simpler and more valid reason may be suggested for Luke's conduct. He concludes: [2] "Even if the use of Matthew by Luke were not contradicted by so many characteristics of both these Gospels, the writer cannot see how the choice by Luke of the second part of a phrase of which Matthew has taken the first part should prove the use of Matthew by Luke. Why should not Luke feel free to take precisely that part of a Marcan phrase which Matthew has taken—if he wanted it? Why should his finding it in Matthew make him feel that he was

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, April 1912, pp. 621-3.
[2] *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 107.

not at liberty to use it? Why indeed, if Luke was copying Matthew, should he not have *followed* him in his quotation of a certain part of a Marcan phrase, instead of putting himself every time to the trouble of going back to his Mark to pick out that part of the phrase which Matthew had left? It does not quite appear why the facts cited by Mr. Smith (so far as analysis of the passages from which they are cited leaves any of them standing) might not just as well be turned against his theory as for it."

Again, if, with Mr. Smith, we "bracket as untrustworthy or at least as open to suspicion all the matter in Luke, about three-fourths of it, which finds a parallel in Matthew or Mark," we cannot regard the rest as credible traditions of our Lord's teaching. The criminal who spends most of his life in robbery with violence may make a death-bed repentance at the end, or possibly cease his plundering when old age creeps upon him, but, in his prime, he will not spend a fourth of his days in honest industry and praiseworthy endeavour. A place, therefore, can only be found for the third gospel amongst apocryphal gospels—the productions in the main of fancy and imagination. This is too much even for Mr. Robinson Smith to demand.

Another consideration, unnoticed by Mr. Patton, equally cogent against the theories of Mr. Smith and Mr. Lummis, is based upon the character of Luke's language in numerous non-Marcan sections of his gospel. It is noticed more fully below. Mr. Lummis's presentation of his case is less exciting and more mathematical than that of Mr. Robinson Smith. He does not indulge in objectionable language, unless we esteem "inconcinnity," "adscititious," and the like to be such. Indeed, he is rather impressed by the excellent motive of the third evangelist. "The preface which opens the third gospel," we are told, "expresses a demand of Luke's

own nature. He wished in all his studies and exercises to be consecutive, comprehensive, and exact."[1]

Accepting without question Harnack's view that Matthew rather than Luke has preserved the words of the Sayings of Jesus, Mr. Lummis endeavours to prove that Luke has followed the order of Matthew. "Luke used Mark as the basis of his gospel; paused now and again at a convenient place to gather up the sayings which appeared up to that point in Matthew; and dealt with such a collection of sayings between point and point, as matter to be separately handled."[2]

In support of his theory, he further adduces "the coincidences between Mt. and Lc. against Mc. in the triple parallel," rejecting the alleged causes for such coincidence stated by Dr. Stanton and Schmiedel (he might have added Bernhard Weiss[3]), and pleading the "old principle of economy of hypothesis" which the direct use of Matthew by Luke illustrates.

"Economy of hypothesis," like some measures of war economy, may, however, be due to neglect or ignorance of the facts. A good hypothesis must be a possible explanation of the facts. In this case, Luke's use of Matthew does not explain his language, nor without sundry subsidiary hypotheses can it be made to explain his additions and omissions in the non-Marcan sections.

Mr. Lummis's hypothesis of a first edition of Luke from which the matter peculiar to the third gospel was absent, and of which Codex Bezae preserves various readings is noticed elsewhere.[4] There is also the hypothesis that "Luke's copy of Matthew was somewhat frayed and worn, and that a word or two here and there has been obliterated

[1] *How Luke was Written*, p. 21. [2] *Ibid.* p. 46.
[3] *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, p. 9.
[4] See "Luke the Editor," p. 111.

or half-obliterated,"[1] and the hypothesis that "certain passages in canonical Mark were not before Luke," whilst we are further bidden remember that "Luke used his pen very freely at the revision, so that we cannot always ascertain the original state of his Matthean matter in the original Luke."[2]

Though it is urged that "the case is complete without D," and that the two last hypotheses are "results of the theory that Luke used Matthew, not preconditions for its possibility," it is plain that the theory would be rather difficult to establish even to the satisfaction of its author without these subsidiary hypotheses. Where, however, the theory breaks down is by its failure to cover the facts which the evidence of Luke's language presents. Semitisms in the writings of Luke are almost unnoticed. Only one (Acts i. 10) is named,[3] and with a "perhaps," after an excision of an intruding word has been suggested as an "obvious" improvement.

To Luke's literary ability, Mr. Lummis pays full, if somewhat condescending tribute:[4] "He was, at the time when he began Lk.[m] (the original draft of the gospel), probably a young man, of some literary culture, and a little self-conscious in his choice of language, one who weighed forms of expression, weeded and enlarged his vocabulary, was eager to learn, and anxious not to learn amiss." "In some little points of idiom, Luke, like other young writers, is punctilious but not quite easy. Though even Matthew falls short of Luke's own intended level of narrative Greek, he may often give a useful hint how to paraphrase one of Mark's barbarisms. Luke's aim is to embody in his writing all that is precious in Mark and Matthew, so far as it is fit to be offered to the larger, more critical Hellenic world to which he himself belongs."

[1] *How Luke was Written*, p. 46.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 98. [3] *Ibid.* p. 45. [4] *Ibid.* p. 137.

It may reasonably be questioned whether Luke, a trained physician before his conversion to Christianity, who had accompanied Paul in his travels and wrote after the Apostle had reached Rome, was quite so young a man as Mr. Lummis supposes. But how comes it that so self-conscious a writer of Greek has introduced Aramaisms into his text when copying Matthew?

The Aramaic use of *ἤρξατο -αντο* occurs in Mark twenty-six times, or twenty-seven, if we add xiv. 22 (D). Of these Matthew retains six only, whilst Luke retains only two. This is what we should expect to find. But observe the use in non-Marcan passages. "St. Matthew also has the construction six times. In one of these, viz. iv. 17, the word has a very great emphasis; two, viz. xviii. 24 and xxiv. 49, occur in sayings of Christ; two, viz. xi. 7 and xxiv. 49, occur also in St. Luke. The remaining two are in narrative. Of these xi. 20 might be editorial, xiv. 30 occurs in a narrative peculiar to the First Gospel."[1] Besides the two cases he derived from Mark, Luke has it twenty-five times. "Of these twelve are in sayings. The remaining thirteen are in narrative. Of these five are the phrase 'began to say' and one of them, vii. 24, occurs in St. Mark. In three, viz. xiv. 30, xv. 14, 24, the 'began' may be emphatic. Five (iv. 21, v. 21, ix. 12, xix. 37, xxiii. 2) are remarkable as occurring in passages with Marcan parallels, and as being therefore possibly due to St. Luke's editorial hand. The question is, why should such a writer as Mr. Lummis confesses Luke to be when copying Matthew change *μὴ δόξητε λέγειν* (Matt. iii. 9) into *μὴ ἄρξησθε λέγειν* (Luke iii. 8), or introduce the Aramaic idiom at all where Matthew had it not? Of the twelve occurrences of this Aramaism in Sayings reported by Luke, seven are in sections peculiar to him, two

[1] Allen, *Commentary on Mark*, p. 49.

are introduced into "Q" passages, one into a Marcan passage, and two, as Mr. Allen observed, are also in Matthew. For the rest, two are introduced into the narrative of "Q" and three are found in the narrative of the peculiar matter. Of the five introduced into the Marcan narrative, one (iv. 21) is in a section very different from the supposed parallels in Mark vi. 1-6 = Matt. xiii. 53-58, and is probably the result of Luke's working "Q" matter into this portion of Mark, whilst ix. 12 marks a point of time and gives a reason for what follows, and xix. 37 also graphically marks an exact period when a certain occurrence took place.

Possibly it may throw light upon the usage of Luke if we note that the construction is found seven times in Acts.

Again, on the hypothesis that Luke used Matthew, the variants already noted in the "Matthean" narrative of Luke are not easily explained, *e.g.* x. 5, the Aramaic use of *εἰρήνη*, and the singular departure from the text of Matt. xxiii. 26 (*καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου*) which Luke (xi. 41) gives (*πλὴν τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην*). The other instances cited by Dr. McNeile as pointing to an Aramaic original of Matthean and Lucan words also demand an explanation which Mr. Lummis's theory fails to afford.

It will be seen that if Luke knew Aramaic and made use of Aramaic sources in his gospel, the verdict of Harnack which many scholars have accepted so readily, that Matthew has preserved the words of "Q" almost invariably, will require considerable modification.

The Aramaisms in Luke are most easily accounted for on the presumption that he was acquainted with an Aramaic "Q."

From Mark he has taken over comparatively

few Aramaisms. Generally, as in the case of the auxiliary ἤρξατο -αντο in narrative, they have disappeared beneath his editorial hand. A Greek source, largely made up of narrative, and written by a man for whom Luke entertained no very high opinion, would not make the same appeal to him as an Aramaic source composed almost entirely of the words of Jesus.

Of Aramaisms in Mark recognised by Wellhausen and other scholars Luke has omitted forty-eight, or including the readings of Codex Bezae in the second gospel, fifty-six, of which thirty are in narrative, twenty-one in Sayings of Jesus, and five in other Sayings.[1]

These Marcan examples are not all of equal value as illustrations of Aramaic idiom distinguished from the idiom of the Κοινή, but almost half of them (Nos. 10, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 50, 53, 55, 56) are rather peculiarly Aramaic in colour. In cases like the use of δύο δύο to express distribution, or εἷς in the sense of τις, the occurrence of the same idiom in the Κοινή cannot be held to exclude the presumption that in a writer like Mark they are due to his Semitic origin and culture.

Certain Aramaisms, omitted by Luke from his Marcan sections, occur elsewhere in his gospel, the reason for which must be found in his attitude towards Mark and other sources.

In all Luke has some eighty-six Aramaisms (in cluding readings in Codex Bezae),[2] of which seventy-one are in Sayings and only fifteen in narrative. Of the seventy-one, sixty are in Sayings of Jesus, one in a Saying of Jesus reported second hand, and ten in Sayings of other than Jesus. Again, eighteen of the Sayings are in " Q " sections, twenty-

[1] See Excursus II. pp. 89 ff.
[2] See Excursus I. pp. 85 ff.

three in Marcan sections, and thirty in sections peculiar to Luke.

Of twenty Aramaisms added by Luke, seventeen are in Sayings (fifteen of Jesus) and only three in narrative. Of the seventeen in Sayings, eight are in "Q" and nine in Marcan sections.

Of the fourteen possible variant translations in Matthew and Luke noted by Wellhausen and Dr. McNeile, all are, of course, in Sayings of Jesus. The twelve occurrences of the Aramaic use of ἤρξατο -ατο in Sayings have been already noticed.

It may be frankly acknowledged that many of these "Aramaisms" may be challenged on the ground of parallels in the Κοινή, but others are indisputable.[1] An attempt has been made to distinguish the two classes.[2]

So far as this evidence goes, it suggests rather strongly that there is some special reason for Luke's Aramaisms being found so largely in Sayings of Jesus. In other words, it points to an Aramaic "Q" used by Luke. This would account for most of the striking differences in the "Logia" of Luke as compared with Matthew. The fact that so many of the Aramaisms occur in ix. 11–xviii. 14 confirms the primitive character of what on other grounds has been considered a unity.[3]

The singular verbal resemblances between Matthew and Luke in their non-Marcan sections can only be accounted for by the theory that Luke also used some recension of a Greek "Q" familiar to Matthew. The Greek and the Aramaic "Q's" cannot have been identical, but must have been related. The phenomena of the first and third gospels make it certain that Luke had sources independent of Matthew, and *vice versa*, whilst it is

[1] See Excursus I. pp. 85 ff.
[2] See Excursus I. pp. 85 ff.
[3] See "Luke the Editor," p. 92.

almost certain that some of these sources possessed common material.

The agreement, then, in language and order in the "Q" sections of Matthew and Luke is due to a Greek source; a few of their divergences are merely variants of the original Aramaic word or phrase; more, but of comparatively little importance, reflect the personal and literary idiosyncrasies of the two evangelists; the most numerous and important of all result from Luke's use of an Aramaic source. In Matthew alone, as Archdeacon Allen argues, there is doubtless much that comes from "Q," since the first evangelist—a careful compiler—probably availed himself of other Sayings besides the Greek recension with which in some form Luke was acquainted. Similarly Sayings reported only by Luke in "Q" sections, or in the document which apparently lies behind chaps. ix. 11–xviii. 14, must be held to be as primitive and authoritative as anything in the gospel. Even in Luke's Marcan sections "the words of Jesus are very carefully reproduced, in so far as there is no question of making them more intelligible, or securing them against misunderstanding."[1]

Luke used the Aramaic source to supplement and correct the Greek "Q"; where the translation of the latter satisfied him he took it over, where it did not he translated direct from the Aramaic. In sections where the Greek "Q" offered no equivalent for the Aramaic he, of course, followed the latter. Consequently where Matthew and Luke are in close agreement the omissions by Luke are more important than his additions. The Matthean portions thus omitted may have been based on material of value known to the first evangelist, but, leaving out of consideration small details of style and the like, they were not present in the Greek or Aramaic "Q" used by

[1] B. Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, S. 61.

the third evangelist. Dr. Moulton, however, attributes the misunderstanding of a Semitic original shown in Luke's text to the author of his Greek source. To prove Luke himself responsible, "we should at least have to show that such errors were very numerous and evenly distributed, and that the same kind of mistake occurred in different places."[1]

"Had he been his own translator, we should have expected to find the same evenness in the distribution of Aramaisms as we find in those general features of grammar and style which so overwhelmingly vindicate the unity of the two books *ad Theophilum*."[2]

The "distribution" which is demanded may fairly be claimed to be discernible,[3] though modified by the use of a Greek as well as an Aramaic "Q," whilst the unity of the two books *ad Theophilum* is further demonstrated, for when we turn from the gospel to Acts, Luke's knowledge of Aramaic is still more clearly seen.

One other consideration remains to be named. In view of the date at which the Synoptists wrote, the influence of oral tradition cannot be entirely eliminated. Some cases of repetition and transference of formulas may ultimately be due[4] "to oral processes of preservation and transmission." But this is comparatively a small matter.

IV. Aramaic Sources in Acts

Professor Torrey[5] has accumulated much convincing evidence for his theory that in chaps. i.-xv. Luke is translating an Aramaic document—and not

[1] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, ii. 19.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 21.
[3] See Excursus I.
[4] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 139.
[5] *Composition and Date of Acts.*

seldom mistranslating. Some of the most baffling and mysterious Greek passages in Acts are thus made plain. For example, in ii. 47 the words *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* have hitherto remained an unsolved riddle. The phrase ordinarily means "together," "in the same place," and, in the papyri, is often used in arithmetical statements. "In the Greek Old Testament it is the standing equivalent of יחד, יחדא." But in ii. 47 this meaning is "obviously inadmissible." The Aramaic equivalent is לחדא, לחדא. But in the Judaic dialects of Aramaic the usual meaning of לחדא is "greatly," "exceedingly," and "this is precisely what is needed in place of *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* in Acts ii. 47." Similarly the confused Greek of iv. 24 ff. is shown to rest upon a misreading of אבונא די היא "that which our father" as אבונו די הוא *ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν*. Amongst other passages whose interpretation is made intelligible as a misreading of Aramaic are viii. 10 and xv. 7. Occasionally, as in the discovery of an Aramaism in the use of *ἀπό* with a passive verb, or in phrases like *κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν*, *ἐγείρειν εἰς*, the theory may be pressed too far in view of the parallels in vernacular Greek. But, making every possible allowance for usages current in the *Κοινή*, the case for translation from Aramaic seems to be established.

Three recent writers,[1] differing in important details from Professor Torrey, have admitted the force of his arguments and accepted his main conclusion.

Mr. W. J. Wilson even makes a further contribution to the discussion. Upon the basis of his predecessor's investigation, he explains the difficulty presented to commentators in i. 2 by the words

[1] W. J. Wilson, *Harvard Theological Review*, January 1918; Kent, *Work and Teachings of the Apostles*, pp. 6 ff.; Bacon, *American Journal of Theology*, January 1918.

ἐντειλάμενος and *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου.* The original of the last phrase was ברוקא די קושא. ב in this instance is mistranslated by *διά*, possibly because the phrase of which it forms part was "one of the established formulae of Christianity in Luke's day." The preposition should have been rendered by *περί*, ב occasionally having the sense of "in the case of," "in the matter of," "in respect of," "concerning." We thus learn the nature of the command given in i. 2—"Having given the Apostles instruction regarding the Holy Spirit." Other passages also explained in the same way are xii. 25 and xv. 14.

Adopting the theory of an Aramaic source Professor Kent thinks "the internal proof is cumulative that originally independent documents or traditions have been combined" in it. For example, iv. 1-31 and v. 17-42 are "older and later versions of the same incident." "The incompleteness of certain of the narratives also points to originally independent sources, *e.g.* xi. 30 and xv. 2, where the elders at Jerusalem are introduced without any explanation of their origin," whilst "at least two important groups of early Christian traditions may be distinguished in chaps. iii.-xv." Whether, indeed, a single Aramaic document lies behind the whole of chaps. i.–xv. 35, as Professor Torrey imagines, is very doubtful. As early as xi. 28 we learn from Codex Bezae that Luke was personally interested in the affairs of the Church at Antioch.[1] We need not search for a source behind his narrative at that point, and presumably, from the time of his conversion onwards, Luke did not stand completely outside the circle of Christian believers, of which he afterwards wrote, though he may not have been constantly at its centre.

Again, the facts which led Harnack to regard chap. ii. and v. 17-42 as doublets are more easily

[1] See "Luke the Diarist," pp. 195 ff.

met by supposing that Luke translated more than one source than by crediting those chapters to one Judaean scribe writing as early as 49 A.D. Harnack's analysis of sources has won a wide acceptance on its merits. In the early part of Acts Luke appears, in some respects, a σπερμολόγος—a picker-up of unconsidered Aramaic trifles. But he was more than a mere translator. The Lucan authorship of the Jerusalem letter is discussed elsewhere.[1] Professor Torrey, moreover, exaggerates the difference between the first and second parts of Acts when he says the one "differs widely and constantly" from the other "both in the idiom which it uses and in its literary structure." Sir John Hawkins, by the linguistic evidence which he presents, connects Acts i.-xii. and xiii.-xxviii., and also the book as a whole with the third gospel.

If we make the division with Professor Torrey at xv. 35, the conclusion is not materially different. Sir John Hawkins gives 151 words and phrases as characteristic of the third gospel.[2] Of these 35 do not appear in Acts at all, 1 is doubtful. Of the remaining 115, 79 are found in chaps. i.–xv. 35 and chaps. xv. 36–xxviii.; 23 are in the first section alone, and 13 in the second section alone. An asterisk is prefixed by Sir John Hawkins to the most distinctive and important instances. There are 21 words so marked, of which 4 do not occur in Acts, 1 is found in each of the two parts alone, and 15 in both. Harnack, who also thinks the first part of Acts closes with xv. 35 (xv. 36–xvi. 5 forming the transition from the first to the second part), is plainly justified by the facts when he says[3] "the style of the first half is certainly distinguishable from that of the second half by

[1] See "Luke the Letter-Writer."
[2] *Horae Synopticae*, 2nd ed., pp. 15 ff.
[3] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Trans.), p. 163.

certain obvious and tangible characteristics," yet "the agreement is much greater than the difference." In regard to the difference between the two parts Harnack observes:[1] "The discovery that a series of important words only occur either in the one or the other half of the Acts respectively cannot be decisive; for, in the first place, these words are also often found in the gospel of St. Luke; secondly, St. Luke, after he has once used a word is fond of holding on to it, only to let it drop again after some little time; and, thirdly, the semi-evangelic style of the first chapters of the Acts required a somewhat different vocabulary from that of the second half."

There is another matter not noticed by Professor Torrey. Some, at least, of the "Western" variants in the early parts of Acts, *e.g.* i. 1, appear to be conflations of Luke's text with the sources which he used. Professor Torrey entertains too low a view of Codex Bezae and of the "Western" text generally in comparison with Codex Vaticanus and its nearest associates when he speaks of the text of the former MS. as "all but worthless" and that of the latter as "very old and correct."[2]

The common mistakes of transcribers are very numerous in Codex Bezae, but we need not accept Blass's view of the "Western" text before we reject that of Professor Torrey. There is a *via media* elsewhere indicated.[3] On any theory of the sources of Acts it is hardly conceivable that they should not have exercised some influence on the Greek texts of early MSS., and Professor Lake[4] appears to have perceived this when he said that "the solution of the 'Western' interpolations or 'Neutral'

[1] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Trans.), pp. 107-8.
[2] *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 40, *n.* 1.
[3] See Introd. p. 2.
[4] *Text of the New Testament*, p. 91.

interpolations is connected somehow with the sources of the New Testament rather than with its text. It is a remarkable fact that the prominent features of the 'Western' text exist in the Gospels and Acts, which are based on documents of an early date, but are, to a large extent, wanting in the Epistles, which are free compositions unconnected with other writings."

Whether the "Western" variants in the third gospel and in Acts are to be attributed to his sources, to Luke himself, or to copyists, must be determined in every instance by a critical examination of the reading in the light of Luke's characteristics on the one hand, and of the manners and methods of scribes on the other.

A few curious variants from the LXX in the Old Testament quotations in the first part of Acts may be due to slight differences in the Old Testament Greek text of that date from that which has survived. Two illustrations will show what is meant.

Πατριαί (Acts iii. 25) is found in a quotation from Gen. xxii. 18, where ἔθνη is read by the LXX, or from Gen. xii. 3, where the reading is φυλαί.

There is no authority for πατριαί in either of the two verses named. Preuschen[1] thinks the quotation has been altered under the influence of Ps. xxi. 28 where πατριαί is found, and for which the Heb. is מִשְׁפְּחוֹת as in Gen. xii. 3. It is more probable that πατριαί is due to the source used by Luke. In Acts iv. 11 we read ἐξουθενηθείς, whilst Mark xii. 10 = Matt. xxi. 42 follow the LXX ἀπεδοκίμασαν in the rendering of מָאַסוּ Ps. cxviii. 22. The LXX translation occurs also in Luke xx. 17, 1 Peter ii. 7. Swete gives no variant in the LXX, and Hatch-Redpath no passage in which ἐξουθενεῖν occurs in anything like the sense of the Acts passage.

[1] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, S. 22.

Preuschen[1] notes that the verb מאס is regularly translated by ἐξουθενέω in 1 Kings, elsewhere only in Ps. lxxxviii. 39. Here he admits that the variant in Acts iv. 11 like that of οἰκοδόμοι for οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες "must go back to a tradition which reflects an independent witness of the original text."

V. Luke an Editor as well as Translator in 1 Acts

Again, though to Professor Torrey it does not seem to be a necessary supposition that Luke made editorial changes, and he does not believe it is possible to recognise them, yet the phenomena presented by the Greek text and by the occasional repetitions and lack of sequence in the early part of Acts point to the editorial hand.

Professor Torrey thinks that in the original Aramaic the words διὰ χειρός (Acts ii. 23) were the same as those behind Mark xiv. 41, and the rendering should have been εἰς χεῖρας. The Peshitta, it may be added, has בְּיַד in both passages. Swete[2] gives as Semitisms in the LXX διὰ χειρός, εἰς χεῖρας, ἐκ χειρός = מִיַּד, בְּיַד, apparently regarding the first two Greek expressions as parallels = בְּיַד. Robertson[3] gives the following examples of the use of χείρ: διὰ χειρός (Acts xv. 23), διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν (Acts xiv. 3), εἰς χεῖρας (Luke xxiv. 7), εἰς τὴν χεῖρα (Luke xv. 22), ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων (Luke i. 71), ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ (John iii. 35), σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου (Acts vii. 35). A reference to the Peshitta shows that διά with the genitive, ἐν with the dat., εἰς with the acc., and σύν with the dat. in these examples are all renderings of בְּיַד, whilst ἐκ χειρός = מִיַּד. In the Sinaitic Syriac

[1] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, S. 22.
[2] *Introduction*,[2] p. 308.
[3] *Grammar of New Testament*, p. 649.

the John passage is missing. The other gospel passages are rendered as in the Peshitta.

On the other hand, outside 2 Chronicles ביד is only once translated by διὰ χειρός, elsewhere it is ἐν χειρί or some paraphrase. In 2 Chronicles the διά construction occurs four times and the ἐν construction three times. διὰ χειρός (Acts ii. 23) as the equivalent of ביד in the sense of agent is possible, but ἐν χειρί, as the LXX shows, would be more usual. The Acts phrase should be read, with Professor Torrey, as εἰς χεῖρας and taken with ἔκδοτον. The passage is then closely parallel with Luke xxiv. 7 δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν. Luke's comparative ignorance of the art of translating Aramaic into Greek has led him astray.

But a verse like ii. 36 is so admirable in its arrangement of words as not to read like a translation. Since it marks the close of Peter's speech, and sums up the drift of his argument, ii. 14-35, we may fairly recognise the editorial hand. Ἀσφαλῶς in the sense of the word here (*certo*) does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament and is classical.

In iv. 21 τό is used before a sentence, a Lucan characteristic and a classical idiom, found eight times in the third gospel but, elsewhere in Acts, only in xxii. 30. Acts iv. 21 narrates what happened after Peter and John had concluded their words, and again the editorial hand of Luke is betrayed.

Chap. v. 14 is by several scholars regarded as an insertion, since v. 15 follows closely in sense upon v. 13[b]. Professor Torrey relieves the difficulty of the passage by taking κολλᾶσθαι in v. 13 as a mistranslation of an Aramaic word from the root קרב, or more probably לחם, which in the Hithpael in late Hebrew means "to contend," but in Syriac "to be united with." Even so, v. 14 may be an editorial, that is, a Lucan addition expanding the

phrase ἀλλ' ἐμεγάλυνεν αὐτοὺς ὁ λαός and preparing the way for verse 15 ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὰς πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κτλ.

The section vi. 8-15 by its repetition (*e.g.* verses 11, 13, 14) points to a duplication of sources. Probably the preservation of traces of his sources by Luke (cp. the three accounts of Paul's conversion) was due to his inability to decide between the competing claims of his authorities, oral and written, as much as to his conception of the functions of a historian.

The Lucan character of the Apostolic Letter (xv. 23 f.) and the editorial treatment of the source behind it are shown elsewhere,[1] whilst the Antiochean origin of Luke raises a presumption in favour of his direct responsibility for the narrative concerning the Church at Antioch (xi. 27-30).[2]

Taken as a whole, the linguistic evidence displays Luke as an editor as well as a translator in the first fifteen chapters of Acts. In other words, Luke compiled his second work very much as he did his first. The difference between Luke as evangelist and as historian is not so much one of methods as of materials.

The date of the Aramaic sources used by Luke is a matter of considerable importance in relation to the question of the authority and historicity of the book of Acts. The primitive Jewish character of materials in 1 Acts is admitted by a scholar like John Weiss,[3] who denies the Lucan authorship of the book and attributes it to the post-Pauline period.

Dr. Bacon,[4] who also denies the authorship of Luke, is more sceptical about the primitive character of the source or sources lying behind chaps. i.-xv.

[1] See "Luke the Letter-Writer," pp. 161 ff.
[2] See "Luke the Diarist," p. 201.
[3] *Das Urchristentum*, S. 7.
[4] *American Journal of Theology*, January 1918.

"There is a kind of mental inertia which inclines us to take for granted the priority of documents in Semitic languages over those written in Greek. It is quite unwarranted. So far as known documents are concerned, the Greek are earlier. This applies especially to the type of documents known as Acts, Preaching, or Travels of Apostles. It is a Greek type of literature." He therefore concludes that a Greek source lies at the back of the Aramaic document translated by the author of Acts in chaps. i.-xv. In support of his opinion Dr. Bacon adduces Harnack's admission as to the "highly legendary and idealised conception of the history" in 1 Acts.

It is possible that Professor Torrey's date (49 or early in the year 50) may be a little too early, but the growth of legend is a much more rapid process than Dr. Bacon seems willing to allow.

Simon de Montfort fell in the battle of Evesham, August 4, 1265. During the siege of Kenilworth (concluded Nov. 1266) the Dictum de Kenilworth was drawn up "for the general pacification of the kingdom." Article 8 reads: "Rogantes humiliter tam dominum legatum quam dominum regem ut ipse dominus legatus sub districtione ecclesiastica prorsus inhibeat, ne Simon comes Leycestriae a quocunque pro sancto vel justo reputetur, cum in excommunicatione sit defunctus, sicut sancta tenet ecclesia; et mirabilia de eo vana et fatua ab aliquibus relata nullis unquam labiis proferantur; et dominus rex haec eadem sub poena corporali velit districte inhibere." As the biographer of Simon de Montfort observes, "La plupart des auteurs contemporains parlent en effet du héros tombé au champ de bataille d'Evesham comme d'un martyr et rapportent que des miracles furent opérés, et sur son tombeau, et à l'endroit où il avait été si affreusement mutilé."[1]

Legend did not grow less quickly in the first

[1] Bémont, *Simon de Montfort, Sa Vie*, p. 248.

century than in the thirteenth. Nor is it incredible that the Aramaic sources used by Luke were original compositions in that tongue. The Aramaic portions of Ezra (iv. 24–vi. 22) are held by many scholars to have formed part of an Aramaic history; the Greek rendering of an earlier Aramaic "Q" is most generally accepted as prior in date to Mark; and, as already remarked, Josephus wrote his *Jewish War* first in Aramaic.

For the second half of Acts, apart from the Diary which Luke himself kept as the fellow-traveller of Paul, there is no clear evidence of written sources. In the first half of the book he employed Aramaic sources containing a larger proportion of legendary materials than was embedded in the sources of his gospel.

Luke's knowledge of Aramaic, suggested by an examination of the third gospel, is confirmed, and even demonstrated, by Professor Torrey's analysis of Acts i.-xv.

One question remains. Why was a cultured Greek like Luke not content with a free translation or paraphrase of his sources, so that his writings, like the *Jewish War* of Josephus, should betray no marks of an Aramaic parentage?

The answer must be found in the character and spirit of his enterprise as set forth in the preface to his gospel, the essential principles of which governed the composition also of Acts, addressed, like the earlier work, to Theophilus: *ἔδοξε κἀμοί, παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς, καθεξῆς σοὶ γράψαι ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν* (Luke i. 3-4).

The meaning of these words is most clearly seen in Dr. Moffatt's translation of the Preface as a whole: "Inasmuch as a number of writers have essayed to draw up a narrative of the established facts in our religion exactly as these have been

handed down to us by the original eyewitnesses who were in the service of the Gospel Message, and inasmuch as I have gone carefully over them all myself from the very beginning, I have decided, O Theophilus, to write them out in order for your excellency, to let you know the solid truth of what you have been taught" (Luke i. 1-4).

The important words are παρηκολουθηκότι and πᾶσιν. By the former is meant "gone over" in the sense of "investigation" (Weymouth), "nachforschen" (Weiss), or "studying" (Blass), a sense in which the word is used by Hellenistic writers; and by the latter is meant "all the facts established in our religion," whether ἀνατάξασθαι means "to draw up" (R.V., Weymouth, Moffatt) or "to repeat or restore from memory" as Blass and Zorell suppose on the authority of the two occurrences of the word (Plutarch, Irenaeus) elsewhere in Greek literature. For Luke, "going carefully over the facts" meant not only selection and editorial revision, but also, in part at least, translation from the language in which the facts had been handed down by the "original eye-witnesses who were in the service of the Gospel message"—an expression which relates to Luke's authorities for Acts not less than for his gospel. On this view Luke's writings constitute, in a sense, two parts of a single work rather than two separate and distinct books.

Many scholars summarily reject the idea of any connection between Luke's preface to his gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. Certainly the object of the second cannot be identical with that of τὸν πρῶτον λόγον (Acts i. 1). Acts was preceded by no similar narratives which called for expansion or correction, and Theophilus would not have been "catechised" in respect of the Apostolic preaching or the spread of Christianity. But the methods and manner of the author are, in a large measure, the

same in both compositions. Both were addressed to the one person, and some of the facts handed down by *οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου* are set forth in the speeches of Peter and John.

Though Luke does not in so many words say that he made use of the narratives that were earlier than his, yet in the nature of the case he was not likely to neglect them. In the gospel we have at least five sources—an Aramaic "Q," Mark, the Greek "Q" known in some form to Matthew, a source which we recognise in the so-called Perean section, and another which lies behind the narrative of the Infancy; whilst in Acts, though by no means so distinctly visible, are signs of some three or four sources. The *πολλοί* of Luke's preface (i. 1) may not exclude an early work like the gospel according to the Hebrews, but the word is satisfactorily explained by the sources already indicated without supposing that the third evangelist was acquainted with Matthew, much less with the spurious apocryphal gospels.

The reference to the many who *ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν* (i. 1) suggests that Luke was not altogether satisfied with their attempts, and since the third gospel is so much more comprehensive than the second, one reason for his dissatisfaction may be found in their incompleteness. In every way known to him, by redaction, addition, and comparison of authorities, as well as by the incorporation of oral tradition, Luke sought to compile a complete narrative first of the life, teaching, and work of Christ, and then, in Harnack's words,[1] to exhibit "the power of the spirit of Jesus in the Apostles manifested in history." In Acts he was happily able to write, to some extent, from first-hand knowledge, and in both the gospel and

[1] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Trans.), p. xviii.

the history he translated some of his sources from the original Aramaic.

VI. Luke's Knowledge of Hebrew

Did Luke know Hebrew? By most scholars the question is scarcely regarded as an open one. Dalman discusses it at some length.[1] He admits that "Hebraisms are special characteristics of Luke," but is of opinion that "if Luke had worked in dependence upon a Hebrew original, then such idioms must have occurred much more frequently than they do."

The Semitic characteristics of the first two chapters of the third gospel have always proved the final court of appeal for those who have held that Luke was acquainted with Hebrew. Dalman, however, declares the assumption of a Hebrew document here "still unproved," and adds, "it might even be maintained that the strongly marked Hebrew style of these chapters is, on the whole, due not to the use of any primary source, but to Luke himself. For here, as in the beginning of Acts, in keeping with the marvellous contents of the narrative, Luke has written with greater consistency than usual in biblical style, intending so to do, and further powerfully affected by the 'liturgic frame of mind' of which Deissmann speaks."

Later writers have added little to this judgement of a great Semitist. Dr. Burkitt[2] contents himself with saying, "In the story of the Nativity (Luke i., ii.) the LXX, and not any Hebrew or Aramaic document, has perceptibly coloured the style and language of the whole narrative."

Harnack[3] has demonstrated the Lucan character

[1] *Words of Jesus* (Eng. Trans.), pp. 20 f.
[2] *Gospel History*, p. 124.
[3] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Trans.), pp. 199 ff.

of the Magnificat and Benedictus, and finds in the poems "a collection of reminiscences from the Old Testament,"[1] "the Hebraisms, whether adopted or inserted from the Old Testament, are intentional," "the whole style is artificial and intended to produce an impression of antiquity."

Dr. Moulton[2] is reminded by Luke's "conscious adaptation of his own style to that of sacred writings long current among his readers of the rule which restricted our nineteenth-century Biblical Revisers to the English of the Elizabethan age."

Dr. Bernard,[3] however, is "not convinced" that the Magnificat "is St. Luke's own composition." Its similarity in structure to the Song of Hannah in 1 Samuel "is so close as to suggest—what is in itself in no way improbable—that both are hymns in which Jewish women were accustomed to pour out their heart's thanksgiving." "That the Magnificat seems to reproduce the language of the LXX does not determine the matter, for the Greek translator (if the hymn be a translation) would naturally use the LXX, as we see in the Psalms of Solomon."[4] Dr. Briggs discovered seven poems in the narratives of Luke i. and ii. which were translations of Hebrew poetry, six of them being originally in trimeters and one in pentameters.

A recent writer, Mr. R. A. Aytoun,[5] has considerably advanced the case for a translation by Luke from Hebrew by turning these chapters into Hebrew. He finds with little difficulty ten hymns in regular Hebrew metres—trimeters, tetrameters, pentameters, and hexameters. Here and there a

[1] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Trans.), p. 216.
[2] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 18.
[3] *Studia Sacra*, p. 223.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 227, *n.* 1.
[5] "The Ten Lucan Hymns of the Nativity in their Original Language," *Journal of Theol. Studies*, July 1917, pp. 274 ff.

line is rejected as prose, and probably a later addition, but there are no drastic emendations or capricious conjectures.

The Nunc Dimittis is given thus (ii. 29-32) :

עַתָּה תְשַׁלַּח עַבְדְּךָ כִּדְבָרְךָ אֲדֹנַי בְּשָׁלֹם :	Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, Δέσποτα, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου, ἐν εἰρήνῃ·
כִּי־רָאוּ עֵינַי יְשׁוּעָתֶךָ הֲכִינוֹתָ לִפְנֵי כָל־הָעַמִּים :	Ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου, Ὃ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν·
אוֹר לְגַלּוֹת הַגּוֹיִם וְתִפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמֶּךָ :	Φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν, Καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ.

The result is three trimeter couplets. Three conclusions drawn by Mr. Aytoun may be thus summarised :

(1) The knowledge of the rules of ancient Hebrew prosody had not been lost in the first century A.D.

(2) Δέσποτα should stand at the beginning of the second line instead of at the end of the first line as in Westcott and Hort's text.

(3) It is a definite piece of evidence in favour of a Hebrew original for the poem.

After examining critically all the Lucan poetry in these two chapters Mr. Aytoun sums up: "The speeches and songs, ten in number, were originally written in the Hebrew language, and in metre, balance, and structure must have been composed in accordance with what are now generally agreed to have been the canons of ancient Hebrew prosody." It is not said by Mr. Aytoun that Luke must have translated these poems, but the markedly Lucan language of these chapters is conclusive on this point. As Harnack has proved, "a Greek source cannot lie at the foundation of the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel." It is true that the LXX has retained

much of the parallelism of the original Hebrew, and even sometimes has the advantage in this respect, though whether the improvement is due to the translator or to the fact that his Hebrew text differed slightly from the M.T. cannot always be determined. Moreover "Mr. Thackeray[1] (*J. Th. Studies*, xiii. 49), writing on 'The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs,' finds an astonishing number of metrical and quasi-metrical passages."

The fact is, as Dr. Streane[2] has told us, "for the Jew this idiom did not cease with the familiar use of his national speech. The Apocryphal Books, *e.g.* Wisdom, abound in it. We may observe that idioms and other forms of speech survive even with those who have wholly lost their hold upon that which was the mother tongue of previous generations." "Expressions in common use among the less educated (English-speaking) classes in Ireland are a literal rendering into English of an Irish idiom." But Luke was not a Jew; he was a Greek of Antioch. Nor is he anywhere in his hymns reproducing verbatim from the LXX. At most, according to Harnack and other scholars, he is but working over passages—often merely single words and phrases—taken from various books of the Greek Old Testament. As Mr. Aytoun urges, "it would require exceedingly ingenious use of the LXX to produce a style and language which would result in a regular Hebrew metre when rendered practically literally into that language."

Take, for example, the Magnificat. On Harnack's theory, Luke drew his materials for it from 1 Samuel, Genesis, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Job, Isaiah, Micah, Malachi, Testament of Levi, and other books, and so worked over them as to present a poem, character-

[1] Quoted in Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*,[2] p. 528.

[2] *Double Text of Jeremiah*, p. 6.

istically Lucan in style, and yet written in Hebrew metres! It is simpler to suppose that these songs and hymns belong to a Hebrew source used by Luke.

Again, as Mr. Aytoun urges, "certain of the spoken portions are so closely bound up with the actual narrative, *e.g.* the Angel Gabriel's addresses to the Virgin Mary, Elizabeth's welcome to Mary, the Angelic Address to the Shepherds, that it is very difficult to believe that they ever existed apart from the narrative matter"—in other words, the narrative matter and the poetry form together one source originally written in Hebrew. It is probable that the source is itself composite. Differences of metre in the various poems point in this direction. The appearance of the Benedictus in its Hebrew form suggests to Mr. Aytoun that it was "originally constructed from portions of more than one poem." Further, as Dr. Plummer observed,[1] whilst "the Magnificat is modelled on the Psalms, the Benedictus is modelled on the prophecies." There is, in fact, much to be said for the view of John Weiss that the Benedictus is of Jewish origin.

The reading "Elizabeth" for "Mary" in i. 46 is supported by some old Latin texts, Irenaeus, and was apparently known to Origen. Harnack thinks Luke wrote simply *καὶ εἶπεν*.

But, as always, the analysis of Luke's sources is accomplished with difficulty. It is sufficient here to notice that Mr. Aytoun's translation into Hebrew reveals a number of explanatory or theological glosses, *e.g.* i. 14[a] *ἔσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον κυρίου*; i. 35[b] *διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ*; i. 37 *ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα*; i. 51[b] *διανοίᾳ καρδίας αὐτῶν*; i. 69[b], 70 *ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ*; i. 73 *ὅρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν*; ii. 14 *εὐδοκίας*.

[1] *Commentary on Luke*, p. 38.

These additions are quite Lucan and must be attributed to the third evangelist, who here, as in the case of Acts and his other authorities in the gospel, edited as well as translated his sources. Presumably Luke was not restrained from "improving" his original (by the addition of an explanatory or theological gloss) by any desire to preserve in his rendering the metrical schemes of his original Hebrew sources.

At the same time it must be admitted that in his translations from the Hebrew Luke makes no such blunders as has been shown by Professor Torrey to be the case when, as in Acts, he is turning Aramaic into Greek. The fact is that [1] "a translator who follows his original rather closely is more likely to make mistakes in translating Aramaic than in rendering Hebrew, because of the greater freedom in the order of words in the Aramaic sentence."

The opinion of eminent scholars like Dalman and Harnack that Luke was greatly influenced in his style by the LXX is confirmed by the character of the additions to the poems in his gospel. This is not inconsistent with the view that the ten Lucan Hymns of the Nativity were translated by him from the Hebrew.

Whatever Luke may have lacked in linguistic ability so far as Semitics are concerned, and however indiscriminating his reverence for his authorities manifested in the composition of Acts, it is due to his work as a translator that we owe some of the most precious elements in both his writings—or, indeed, in the New Testament.

[1] *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 22, *n.* 2.

EXCURSUS I

ARAMAISMS IN LUKE

Key to Symbols

M = Marcan Sections.
Q = Second chief source of third Gospel.
P = Section peculiar to Luke.
N = Narrative.
W = Wellhausen's *Einleitung*.
S = Saying of Jesus.
s = Saying of Jesus reported by others.
σ = Saying of others than Jesus.
+ = Addition by Lc., *i.e.* not in Mc. or Mt.
D = Codex Bezae.
p = Papyri parallels.
c = Classical parallels.
M. = Moulton's *Prolegomena*.
M.Gr. = Modern Greek.
C. & S. = Conybeare and Stock's *Selections from LXX*.

PAGE	Lc.		
W. 15	iii. 17	(1) Relative pronoun followed by genitive of pers. pron. οὗ . . . αὐτοῦ (M.Gr., ?) M. pp. 85, 95.	σQ.
W. 15	viii. 12	(D) (2) Relative pronoun followed by genitive of pers. pron. ὧν . . . αὐτῶν (M.Gr., ?) M. pp. 85, 95.	+SM.
W. 24	iii. 19	(3) πᾶς used like כל meaning "the rest."	NP.
W. 24	iii. 21	(4) do. do.	+NM.
W. 24	xiii. 2	(5) do. do.	SP.
W. 24	xiii. 4	(6) do. do.	SP.
W. 12	iv. 3	(D) (7) Anacolouthon-nominative εἰπὲ οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἵνα γένωνται ἄρτοι (M. 70).	+σQ.
W. 16	iv. 26	(8) εἰ μή adversative = ἀλλά, אלא = both εἰ μή and ἀλλά.	SP.
	v. 37	(9) do. do.	SM.
	vii. 26	(10) ἀλλά exceptive = εἰ μή do.	SQ.

PAGE	Lc.			
W. 19	iv. 41	(11)	Passive verb represented by intransitive *ἐξήρχοντο*.	+NM.
W. 19	viii. 2	(12)	do. *ἐξεληλύθει*.	NP.
W. 19	xiii. 28	(13)	do. (נפק is passive of אפק) *ἐκβαλλομένους*.	+SQ.
	xvii. 2	(14)	do. *περίκειται*.	SM.
	vi. 9	(15)	*σώζειν* in the sense of אחי.	SM.
W. 24	vi. 40	(16)	*πᾶς* used adverbially like כָּלָה.	+SQ.
W. 18	vi. 44	(17)	Avoidance of passive use of 3rd plur. indef. active *συλλέγουσιν*.	SQ.
	vi. 38	(18)	do. do. *δώσουσιν*.	+SQ.
	xii. 20	(19)	do. do. *ἀπαιτοῦσιν*.	SP.
W. 18	xiv. 35	(20)	do. do. *βάλλουσιν*.	+SQ?
	xviii. 15	(21)	do. do. *προσέφερον*.	NM.
W. 18	xviii. 33	(22)	do. do. *ἀποκτενοῦσιν*.	SM.
	xxi. 27	(23)	do. do. *ὄψονται*.	SM.
W. 18	xxiii. 31	(24)	do. do. *ποιοῦσιν*.	SP.
	xxiii. 33	(25)	do. do. *ἐσταύρωσαν*.	NM.
W. 12	vi. 47	(26)	*πᾶς* with participle = conditional sentence.	+SQ.
W. 13	vii. 7	(27)	Conditional parataxis.	σQ.
W. 13	x. 28	(28)	do.	+SM.
W. 23	ix. 24, 25	(29)	*τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ* = *ἑαυτόν*, cp. נפשא.	SM.
W. 15	ix. 31	(D) (30)	Relative used where *ὅτι* is required. ר = *ὅτι*, *ἵνα*, and relative.	+σM.
W. 16	xi. 11	(31)	Conditional sentence introduced by *τίς* interrogative.	SQ.
W. 16	xv. 4	(32)	do.	+SQ.
W. 16	xvii. 7	(33)	do.	SP.
W. 11	xi. 19	(34)	Genitive case = construct. state *υἱοὶ ὑμῶν*.	SQ.
W. 11	xi. 31	(35)	do. *βασίλισσα Νότου*.	SQ.

PAGE	LC.			
	xi. 25	(36)	Participle used as protasis of conditional sentence *ἐλθὸν εὑρίσκει* (c), M. p. 229.	SQ.
	xii. 28	(37)	*ὁμολογεῖν ἐν*=אודי ב.	SQ.
W. 13	xiii. 4	(38)	Pendent case, word resumed by pronoun *ἐκεῖνοι οἱ δέκα . . . αὐτοί* (cp), M. pp. 69, 225.	SP.
W. 12	xxi. 6	(39)	(D) Pendent case, word resumed by pronoun *ταῦτα ἃ θεωρεῖτε . . . οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται ὧδε* (cp), M. pp. 69, 225.	+SM.
W. 14	vi. 8	(40)	Use of participle at beginning of sentence *ἀναστὰς ἔστη.*	+NM.
	v. 28	(41)	do. *ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθει.*	NM.
W. 14	viii. 14	(42)	do. *πορευόμενοι συνπνίγονται.*	SM.
W. 14	xiv. 10	(43)	do. *πορευθεὶς ἀνάπεσε.*	SP.
W. 14	xiv. 28	(44)	do. *καθίσας ψηφίζει.*	SP.
W. 14	xiv. 31	(45)	do. *καθίσας βουλεύεται.*	SP.
W. 14	xvi. 6	(46)	do. *καθίσας γράψον.*	SP.
W. 14	xiii. 15	(47)	do. *ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει.*	SP.
W. 22	xiii. 7	(48)	*ἰδού* used in sense of הא and followed by nom. case (p), M. p. 11.	SP.
W. 22	xiii. 16	(49)	do. do. do.	SP.
W. 12	xiii. 19	(50)	Substantival predicate introd. by *εἰς* (p), M. p. 72.	+SM.
W. 26	xiv. 18	(51)	*ἀπὸ μιᾶς*=מן חדא.	SP.
W. 21	xv. 7	(52)	*ἤ* particle indicating comparison after a verb.	SP.
	vi. 9	(53)	do.	SM.
W. 21	xiii. 2	(54)	*παρά* with positive in comparison=מן, expressing comparison.	SP.
W. 21	xiii. 4	(55)	do. do.	SP.
W. 21	xviii. 14	(56)	do. do.	SP.
W. 17	xv. 22	(57)	*διδόναι*=*τιθέναι*, cp. נתן *δότε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα.*	SP.
W. 20	xvi. 8	(58)	Adjective expressed by genitive of abstract *οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας* (c), M. p. 74.	SP.

PAGE	Lc.			
W. 20	xvi. 9	(59)	Adjective expressed by genitive of abstract *μαμῶνα τῆς ἀδικίας* (c), M. p. 74.	SP.
W. 20	xviii. 6	(60)	do. *κριτὴς* do. do.	SP.
W. 24	xvi. 26	(61)	*ἐν* with force of ב (p), M. pp. 11, 61.	SP.
W. 23	xviii. 10	(62)	*εἷς . . . εἷς* = the one, the other חד חד.	SP.
W. 21	xix. 11	(63)	Adverb expressed by verb in Semitic manner *προσθεὶς εἶπεν*.	NP.
W. 21	xx. 11	(64)	do. *προσέθετο πέμψαι*.	+SM.
W. 21	xx. 12	(65)	do. do.	+SM.
W. 20	xxi. 16	(66)	Indeterminate pronouns expressed by *ἐξ*: *θανατώσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν*.	+SM.
	xxii. 11	(67)	*ὅπου* for *ἵνα*, ד having the force of both.	SM.
W. 21	xxii. 15	(68)	Dat. of cognate noun with verb expressing infin. absol. *ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα* (c), C. & S. p. 60, M. p. 76.	SP.
W. 17	xxii. 30	(69)	*κρίνειν* in sense of "rule" like שפט.	SQ.
W. 18	xxiii. 15	(70)	Periphrastic conjug. passive with dat. of agent.	σP.
W. 24	xxiii. 42	(71)	*ἔρχεσθαι ἐν* = to bring, cp. Judges xv. 1.	σP.
W. 12	xxiv. 7	(72)	Subject of subordinate clause attracted by governing verb.	+sM.
	xii. 13	(73)	Verb "to speak" followed by infin. *εἰπὲ . . . μερίσασθαι*, cp. אמר ל.	σP.
	ix. 54	(74)	do. do.	σP.
	xix. 15	(75)	do. do.	+SQ?
	iii. 16	(76)	*ὁ ἰσχυρότερος*, cp. Aramaic positive with מן.	σM.
	iii. 22	(77)	Aorist representing Aramaic perfect.	σM.
	iv. 31	(78)	Plural arising from misunderstanding of Aram. sing. *σάββασιν* שַׁבָּתָא.	NM.
	viii. 33	(79)	*ἐξελθόντα δὲ . . . εἰσῆλθον*, cp. Aram. נפק ועל.	NM.
	v. 24	(80)	*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, Aram. בר נשא.	SM.
	vi. 5	(81)	do.	SM.
	v. 34	(82)	*οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος*, cp. Aram. use of בני.	SM.

Lc.			
viii. 19	(83) Gen. of pronoun after substantive representing Aram. suffix.		NM.
viii. 20	(84)	do. do.	NM.
viii. 21	(85)	do. do.	NM.
viii. 43	(86) *ἀγρός* in sense of קריתא, *i.e.* an estate and those who belong to it.		NM.

EXCURSUS II

LUKE'S OMISSION OF ARAMAISMS IN MARK

Mark			
i. 8	(1) *ἐβάπτισα*, past tense used for present.		σM.
i 23	(2) *ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ*, expression due to Aram. orig. ראיח הות בא.		NM.
i 29	(3) *ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν* corresponding to Aram. נפק ול.		NM.
i. 35	(4)	do. do.	NM.
vi. 1	(D) (5)	do. do.	NM.
xiv. 45	(6)	do. do.	NM.
xv. 43	(7)	do. do.	NM.
i 37	(8) Use of historical present.		NM.
i. 44	(9)	do.	NM.
i. 34	(D) (10) Acc. as pendent case taken up by pronominal expression, *τοὺς δαιμονίζομενοι . . . ἀπ' αὐτῶν*.		NM.
i. 45	(11) *πολλά* used adverbially like סַגִּי.		NM.
xv. 3	(12)	do.	NM.
ii. 21	(13) *πλήρωμα* translating Aram. מליא.		SM.

Mark		
ii. 4	(D) (14) *ἀπό* with causal sense, cp. מן.	NM.
iii. 2	(15) Plural due to Aramaic *σάββασιν* corrected by Lc.	NM.
iii. 6	(16) *συμβούλιον διδόναι* [B.L.] *ποιεῖν* [א.C.] due to Aram.	NM.
ii. 7	(17) *λαλεῖ βλασφημεῖ* repres. two Aram. participles.	σM.
iii. 17	(18) *Βοανεργές* prob. = בני רגש.	NM.
iii. 19	(19) *Καναναῖον* prob. = קנאן, Luke translates.	NM.
iii. 25	(20) *οἰκία* = בית in Aram. occasionally political district. Lc.'s uses in sense of house.	SM.
iii. 28	(21) *τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων* = men (Aram.). In Lc. sing. is used of Xt.	SM.
iii. 29	(22) *ἔνοχος . . . ἁμαρτήματος* v.l. *κρίσεως*. Aram. חובא has both senses.	SM.
iv. 7	(23) *καρπὸν διδόναι ; ἀναβαίνειν* = to grow.	SM.
iv. 8	(D) (24) *ἓν . . . ἓν . . . ἕν* [Von Soden. *εἷς* ter] = חד expressing multiplicity.	SM.
iv. 13	(25) *πᾶς* used like כל meaning "the rest."	SM.
iv. 21	(26) *ἔρχεται ὁ λύχνος*, passive rep. by intransitive as in Aram.	SM.
iv. 22	(27) *ἀλλά* with exceptive force, cp. Aram. אלא.	SM.
ix. 8	(28) do.	NM.
iv. 22	(29) *ἵνα* = ד which may introd. dependent clause or = relative.	SM.
iv. 22	(30) do. do.	SM.
iv. 22	(31) *ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα* = אלא ד ; Lc. apparently reads ד לא *ὃ οὐκ*.	SM.
x. 30	(32) *ἐὰν μή*, Lc. *ὃς οὐχὶ μή*, Mc. אלא, Lc. דלא.	SM.
v. 16	(D) (33) *αὐτῷ τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ*, cp. Aram. strengthening of determination of subst. by pron.	NM.
v. 41	(34) *ταλιθὰ κούμ*, D reads *ραββι θαβιτα*, an Aram. variant.	SM.
vi. 7	(35) *δύο δύο*, distribution expr. by repetition as in Aram. (c), M. p. 97.	NM.
vi. 39	(36) *συμπόσια συμπόσια* do. do.	NM.
vi. 40	(37) *πρασιαὶ πρασιαί* do. do.	NM.
vi. 8, 9	(38) *εἰ μὴ . . . ἀλλά*, latter mistaken rendering of ולא as אלא.	SM.

Mark			
vi. 14	(D) (39)	ἔλεγον 3rd. plur. act. indef. in Aram. manner = passive.	NM.
vii. 5	(40)	Use of περιπατεῖν in Semitic sense.	σM.
viii. 12	(41)	Ἀμὴν . . . εἰ δοθήσεται, form of Semitic negative oath.	SM.
viii. 41	(42)	εἰ μή exceptive use, without a sentence following.	NM.
viii. 34	(43)	ὅστις . . . καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι conditional parataxis.	SM.
ix. 17	(44)	εἷς as equivalent of τις, cp. חד (p), M. p. 97.	NM.
ix. 42	(45)	μᾶλλον expressing comparison, cp. יַתִּיר.	SM.
x. 22	(46)	ἦν ἔχων periphrastic conjug. in active as in Aram. (pc), M. p. 227.	NM.
x. 25	(47)	Article as in Aram. with generic terms, or conspicuous examples of class.	SM.
xii. 1	(D) (48)	do. τοῖς γεωργοῖς.	NM.
viii. 28	(49)	Harsh grammar. ὅτι with acc.	SM.
xi. 9	(50)	ὡσαννά Aram. form of word = "save now."	σM.
xi. 32	(51)	ἀλλά in disjunctive sense "or," cp. ואלא.	σM.
xiv. 25	(D) (52)	οὐ μὴ προσθῶ πεῖν adverb expressed by auxiliary verb.	SM.
xv. 13	(53)	πάλιν = Aram. חוב = "again," also "then," "thereupon" as in this passage.	NM.
v. 43	(54)	εἶπεν δοθῆναι = אמר ל followed by infin.	NM.
v. 35	(55)	Indeterminate "a few" expressed by ἀπό or ἐξ, cp. מן.	NM.
vi. 43	(56)	do. do.	NM.

CHAPTER III

LUKE THE EDITOR

I. Introduction

Few modern editors have been subjected to the searching analysis and severe criticism which have been applied to the author of the third gospel and of Acts. His editing of Mark has been followed line by line, and word by word; every addition and omission has been noted, and his literary style and theological tendencies carefully estimated.

In the comparison of the non-Marcan passages common to Matthew and Luke the same process has been pursued, though, as we have seen in the last chapter, in the absence of the original document or documents used by the evangelists, the results have been more speculative, and consequently more disputable; now one, now the other writer being credited with more freedom as an editor, or with greater fidelity to his source.

Similarly, in the case of Acts, it is only possible quite generally, by the employment of the comparative method, to distinguish the hand of the editor, except where, in a few passages, Paul in his epistles has covered the same ground as his friend and follower. When the two writers treat the same or similar themes, there are some notable points of agreement, and more of disagreement. Luke, however well disposed towards the great apostle and his

mission, was no slave to his opinions or to his policy.[1]

As Dr. Moffatt observes:[2] "It does not follow that Acts, if written by Luke, must necessarily exhibit striking agreement with the apostle's epistles. Luke's object was neither to correct nor to elucidate these epistles." We need to make "allowance for the time at which and the purpose for which Luke wrote," and to "recognise the freedom with which he treated the sources and traditions at his disposal."

Nor need we question the honesty of the man if we admit here and there the freedom of the editor. We must not "look at the matter from the point of view of the present day," and "ignore the very peculiar conditions under which the gospels" and Acts were composed. "Writers of former times," says Dr. Stanton,[3] "very specially in the case of historical records, felt themselves at liberty to adopt what had been compiled before as if it were their own, and in doing so to modify and add to it, in a way that at the present day no honourable and self-respecting writer would." This procedure, in the case of Luke, seems to have been followed more particularly when his sources were Greek and therefore, in a sense, secondary.[4]

"The difference of feeling on the subject, and of the real morality of the act, lay partly in the absence of pecuniary advantages and consequent legal rights connected with authorship, but perhaps even more in the fact that, before the invention of printing, the distinction must have been a shadowy one between copying for the private use of an individual, or of a limited circle, and publication."

In this connection it is not unnecessary to

[1] See "Luke the Theologian," pp. 134 ff.
[2] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 302.
[3] *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, p. 27.
[4] See "Luke the Linguist," pp. 65 ff.

remember that both Luke's works were dedicated to an individual, and were probably intended primarily for his edification.

"In the case of the evangelists," Dr. Stanton[1] gives other reasons justifying their free use of authorities. "They are likely to have possessed additional information, oral or written, of an equally trustworthy character, or what seemed to them to be such." "Oral tradition must still have been a living thing at the latest time at which any of the Synoptic evangelists wrote." "It must be remembered also that there was not in that age such a sense of the importance of verbal exactness in the repetition even of Christ's words as we might have expected; the practice of the early fathers in quoting them is proof of this."

Again, the conditions under which the gospels were written would, as Dr. Sanday[2] has shown, leave room for the entrance of error, since they involved "a real interval during which the paragraph of text (in the document used) was carried in the mind." There would always be present the temptation to quote from memory since the ancient writer "would not have his copy before him, but would consult it from time to time." And memory plays strange tricks. "Dr. Salmon produces a remarkable instance of this in no less a person than Jeremy Taylor, who quotes the text 'Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God' nine times, yet only twice in the same form, and never once correctly."[3]

In addition to these considerations there remain to be reckoned with the motives that inspired the evangelists to take up the pen.

No one seriously questions the *bona fides* of Thomas Ellwood, William Penn, and the other

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 28. [2] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 19.
[3] Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of New Testament*, p. 207.

editors of *Fox's Journal*, but, as the publication in 1911 of the original manuscript proved, they made little attempt to reproduce the original in print. They suppressed some passages that savoured of superstition, and interpolated others; they corrected the bad grammar and spelling of their illiterate hero or his secretary, and even introduced extraneous matter, using the first person singular, as though Fox had said the words.

In all this, though acting in the contrary direction, except in points of language, to Luke, they were inspired by the same purpose, and were influenced in the same way by the spirit of the age. In short, like the author of the third gospel and of Acts, they were editing in such a manner as to produce a book which should have a didactic as well as a historical value. Of New Testament writers, Luke was more of a historian than the rest, and though his attitude towards the Roman authorities occasionally suggests a political motive, this was by no means so strong as in the case of Fox's editors, who for example omitted as inexpedient a reference to General Monk's Royalist "covering" as early as 1657, and, as bearing hardly on Cromwell's memory, an allusion to his being "rolled into his grave with infamy."

II. Passages peculiar to Luke

Of passages peculiar to Luke in the gospel, whose unique worth is unquestioned, no originals are known, and it is difficult to discriminate between the editor and his source or sources.

The "Peraean Section" or "Travel Document," as it is sometimes called (ix. 51–xviii. 14), from internal evidence may be considered a unity. Dr. Stanton[1] notes the connections in time between successive paragraphs, such as Luke is careful

[1] *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 228 f.

not to create in parallels with Mark when he did not find them in his source. "Again, the parables peculiar to St. Luke differ from the others in their force and imagery. They are concerned with human emotions and motives, inner debatings and actions, which are vividly described; they are in fact short tales of human life." "They bear their moral on the face of them, and, in several instances, it is driven home by an emphatic saying at the conclusion." At the same time it is not denied that "the evangelist may have conjectured the persons addressed from the nature of the subject matter," and that "touches in the introduction to pieces of instruction may proceed from the hand of the evangelist," who "turned to account hints in his source or used his imagination."

Several scholars connect this peculiar source of Luke with Philip the Evangelist, and his daughters; others with Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward. The question must remain open. More important is it to ascertain, if possible, how Luke treated his sources.

Dr. Wright observes:[1] "If in St. John's Gospel it is more and more recognised that the mind of the Evangelist cast the utterances of our Lord into the peculiar form which they there hold, the same process of redaction may be observed in St. Luke, who comes nearest of the Synoptists to the methods of St. John." This would appear to be true only within certain limits, the freedom of the editor being determined largely by the character of the source employed.[2]

III. Matthew xx. 28 ff. (Codex Bezae)

Happily Codex Bezae has preserved in Matt. xx.

[1] *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, vii. 88.
[2] See "Luke the Man of Letters," pp. 17 f.

28 ff. what is manifestly very close to the original Aramaic of a passage in the "Peraean Section," namely, xiv. 8-11—the parable of the lowest seats at feasts. From this we may learn something more of Luke the Editor.

In the book of Proverbs xxv. 6, 7 we read (R.V.), "Put not thyself forward [Heb. Do not honour thyself] in the presence of the king, and stand not in the place of great men. For better is it that it be said unto thee, Come up hither, than thou shouldest be put lower in the presence of the prince."

The scene is a dinner, and the saying has its rabbinical echoes. "R. Akibi in the name of R. Simeon used to say, 'Withdraw from thy place two or three seats, and take thy place until they say to thee, Go up; and do not go up lest they say to thee, Go down: it is better they say to thee, Go up, Go up, and not, Go down, Go down.'" In Ecclesiasticus xiii. 9 we read similarly, "If a mighty man invite thee, be retiring. And so much the more will he invite thee."

Apparently neither the words of Scripture nor the teaching of the rabbis availed to improve the habits of scribes, who, in the time of Jesus, still loved the chief seats (πρωτοκλισίας) at feasts (Mark xii. 39, Luke xx. 46, Matt. xxiii. 6).

According to Luke xiv. 8-11, Jesus, when dining in the house of one of the chief Pharisees, marked how they which were bidden chose out the chief seats, and put forth a parable to them saying, "When thou art bidden of any man to a marriage feast, sit not down in the chief seat, lest haply a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him; and he that bade thee and him shall come and say to thee, Give this man place: and thou shalt begin with shame to take the lowest place. But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest place, that when he that hath bidden thee cometh,

he may say to thee, Friend, go up higher: then thou shalt have glory in the presence of all that sit at meat with thee. For everyone that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." We may believe with Field[1] that our Lord undoubtedly had in mind the passage in Proverbs.

At Matthew xx. 28 Codex Bezae has preserved another version of Christ's counsel to guests. "But ye seek from the small to increase, and from the greater to be less. But when ye come in, even by invitation, to a feast, sit not down in the distinguished places, lest one greater than thou arrive, and the giver of the feast come and say to thee, Go further down, and thou be ashamed. But if thou sit down in the meaner place, and one meaner than thou arrive, the giver of the feast will say to thee, Join (us) farther up, and that shall be to thine advantage."

In a slightly different form this passage is found also in Φ, eleven MSS. of the old Latin, six MSS. of the Vulgate, the Curetonian Syriac, the Peshitta, and the old German and Saxon versions.

Dr. Chase[2] regards it as a gloss which originated in the Syriac. "The awkwardness of the Greek," he says, "points to re-translation, especially the first two lines; and the gloss evidently takes its rise from words in the context, *ὃς ἂν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενέσθαι ἔσται* (v.l. *ἔστω*) *ὑμῶν διάκονος*." The negative in the second line of the Syriac clears up, he thinks, what in the Greek is obscure.

These arguments are far from convincing. Awkwardness in the Greek may be due, as frequently in the second gospel, not to the fact that it is a re-translation from the Syriac, but to its being Aramaised Greek—the rendering, more or less literal, of a saying of our Lord in the Aramaic tongue. The most we can expect to find in the

[1] *Notes*, p. 17. [2] *Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, pp. 10, 11.

versions of the Syriac—a language as closely related to Palestinian Aramaic as standard English to Lowland Scottish—is an occasional word or phrase which may have formed part of the original "logion." In the case of the Peshitta, Dr. Burkitt [1] has shown that it does not "represent a real and continuous Palestinian tradition."

Again, the first two lines in the Bezan version of the saying have no essential connection with what follows, any more than Luke xiv. 11 with what precedes. The Lucan verse, xiv. 11 (*ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται*), which also occurs in Luke xviii. 14 (cp. Matt. xxiii. 12), is, in the opinion of Sir John Hawkins,[2] "a saying of a proverbial kind which might have been spoken on various occasions, and might have come down through more than one channel." The only difference between Luke xiv. 11 and Luke xviii. 14 is that one has a *καί* where the other has *δέ*. Against Matt. xxiii. 12 they agree in having *πᾶς ὁ* with a participle where the first evangelist has *ὅστις* with a verb. At the end of the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke xviii. 14) the saying has a very natural place, and since Matt. xx. 28 (D) does not include it, we must conclude that the third evangelist repeated it at xiv. 11 on account of its suitability for the purpose of driving home the moral of the saying.[3]

There is also some external evidence for the separation of the first two lines in the Bezan version from the rest of the passage. "The first part only, *ὑμεῖς . . . εἶναι*, is preserved in m. ger., and apparently Leo (he quotes no more); the second part only, *εἰσερχόμενοι . . . χρήσιμον*, in ger., and apparently Hilary, 'Mt.'"[4]

[1] *Syriac Forms of New Testament Names*, pp. 5 f.
[2] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 117.
[3] Cp. p. 96.
[4] Hort, *Notes*, p. 15.

It is very doubtful if these first two lines take their rise, as Dr. Chase supposed, from the context in Matt. xx. 28. The probability is that the verse is an independent saying like that in Luke xiv. 11, and is attached to the passage with which it is now connected in Codex Bezae much in the same way as Luke xiv. 11 is appended to verses 3-10. In any case, our view of the first two lines does not involve any judgement upon what immediately follows them. As for the negative in the Syriac, it is probably, as Mr. Allen suggests,[1] "an afterthought to bring the originally independent first sentence into harmony with the following passage." The obscurity of the Greek is rather evidence of its primitive character than otherwise.

Dr. Chase,[2] further, gives two reasons why we cannot seek the original form of this passage in the Latin. (1) The number of synonymous variants seems to imply different attempts to render a common original. (2) In the first line an imperative is required, "Seek ye," by the illustration of the feast which follows. The Greek ζητεῖτε is ambiguous, and the Latin authorities agree in having the indicative. The first argument is valid, but the second rests upon the assumed connection of the first two lines with what follows, an assumption already examined and denied. Again, the truth is surely, as Nestle[3] perceived, that "the indicative 'quaeritis' and the imperative of the Syriac are both derived from the ambiguous ζητεῖτε."

The discovery of Codex Beratinus (Φ), containing fragments of Matthew and Mark and dated sixth century, added a second witness in support of the interpolation, and removed from the mind of Nestle the slightest doubt as to the priority of the Greek.

[1] *Commentary on Matthew*, p. 218.
[2] *Syro-Latin Text of Gospels*, p. 14.
[3] *Text. Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 25.

Unquestionably the passage is alien to Matthew, and must have been interpolated at a very early period from an unknown source. What that source was, and how the interpolation is related to the "parable" in Luke xiv. 8-10, may now be considered.

The Lucan passage is described as a parable, and stated to have been addressed to the Pharisees. It is not, however, a parable in the usual sense of the term. There is nothing figurative in it—no simile, no metaphor, no trace of allegory. It can hardly be included in the example-stories (*Beispielerzählungen*) of the gospels. It is a straightforward piece of advice relative to the right conduct of men towards each other under a given set of conditions, and comparable to the sentences of ethical wisdom called parables in the Old Testament, and especially in Ben Sirach.

We must also confess with Jülicher[1] that "it very faintly resembles table-talk such as Jesus would have held in the house of a strict Pharisee and amongst suspicious enemies." "Even the singular *ὅταν κληθῇς*, which is continuous throughout, is opposed to the idea that Jesus is addressing himself to all at the table at the time." No stress, therefore, can be laid on the occasion which is said to have given rise to the saying of our Lord; that may be due to the evangelist, who has transformed the Logion into a parable with an appropriate moral appended, and found for it a fitting place in his narrative.

There is reason to think that Luke found the reference to the "house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees" (xiv. 1) in his source, and is only responsible for connecting this Logion with the foregoing narrative of the healing of the man with dropsy (xiv. 1-6). As B. Weiss pointed out with reference

[1] *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, S. 246 ff.

to another incident taken from the same source (vii. 36-50), the mention of Christ's dining with Pharisees seems to be "a faithful reminiscence of a time when the enmity of the Pharisees against Jesus was not considered a matter of course."[1]

The language of the introductory verse is Lucan, *e.g.* ἔλεγέν δὲ, πρός used in speaking to (twice) and λέγω παραβολήν are characteristic of Luke.

Compared with the Bezan interpolation, we are struck by the extraordinary dissimilarity of language in Luke's parable, and the close resemblance in thought. Apart from the particles μή, μήποτε, the conjunction καί, the preposition εἰς, and the second personal pronoun, only two words are common to both passages, namely, ἐρεῖ and τόπον. Of these, only the latter is of any significance. It occurs three times in Luke xiv. 8-10 (once without an equivalent in Codex D) and twice in the Bezan interpolation, plural and singular, the former of which is represented by πρωτοκλισίαν in Luke.

The most important difference in substance between the two accounts is this: Luke supposes the case (*a*) of a man who had taken a chief seat bidden go lower down in consequence of the arrival of a more honourable guest, and (*b*) that of a man moved up because he had taken the lowest seat. In the Bezan interpolation, the first case is the same as in Luke, but the second is strictly parallel, namely, that of one who had taken a mean seat being advanced by reason of the entrance of a guest of less importance. The "Western" reading thus gives a like reason for the movement of the guest in both cases. This parallelism, in itself, is some indication of the more Semitic form.

Moreover, the omission by Luke of any mention of the arrival of the guest of less distinction enhances the ethical value of the teaching. It is to his own

[1] *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, S. 203.

exhibition of humility, not to another's arrival, that the guest owes his advancement.

If the "parable" were known to Luke in the form of the Bezan MS. (Matt. xx. 28 f.), it would not be contrary to his practice to invest it with an added value *in view of what follows in his text.* Luke's presentation of the parable renders it a more fitting illustration of the maxim of Christ, which, as we have seen, he has added to it, "Every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

IV. Language of Bezan Interpolation—Aramaised Greek

That the language of Codex Bezae here is more Aramaic than that of Luke may be seen from what follows not less than the methods of Luke as an editor.

Codex Bezae, Matt. 28 ff.	Luke xiv. 8-10.
εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνῆσαι,	ὅταν κληθῇς ὑπό τινος εἰς γάμους,
μὴ ἀνακλίνεσθε εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους,	μὴ κατακλιθῇς εἰς τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν,
μήποτε ἐνδοξότερός σου ἐπέλθῃ.	μήποτε ἐντιμότερός σου ᾖ κεκλημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

(1) δειπνῆσαι—Luke εἰς γάμους.

A wedding feast may be mentioned by Luke in order to make plain that there were present a large number of guests, and because the formality observed on such an occasion would require that notice be taken of the rank of the guests. Nothing in the context requires γάμους. The plural is frequently used of a wedding feast, cp. Matt. xxii. 2, xxv. 10, and is found in the papyri.

(2) *εἰσερχόμενοι . . . παρακληθέντες*—Luke *ὅταν κ.τ.λ.*

In Hebrew and in Aramaic a participle may be the protasis in a conditional clause. Luke's editing is here parallel with his treatment of "Q," cp.—

εἰσερχόμενοι Matt. x. 12 = Luke x. 5 *εἰσέλθητε.*

(3) *μὴ ἀνακλίνεσθε*—Luke *μὴ κατακλιθῇς.*

κατακλίνεσθαι is classical and peculiar to Luke in the New Testament. *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* appears to be always preferred to the classical word by translators from Semitic writings (see Excursus, pp. 113 ff.).

The original Aramaic must have been אל with the jussive—a simple warning—"Do not recline." The imperfect with לא would be an emphatic prohibition with the strongest expectation of obedience, "Thou shalt not recline."

Whether Jesus spoke to Pharisees at table with him (Luke xiv.), or to his disciples (Matt. xx., Codex D), he must have used the precative form. This form does not suggest that those addressed were actually reclining in the chief seats, nor simply refer to their possible future action.

In Greek, Classical, Hellenistic, and Modern this distinction is made—*μή* with the imperative means primarily "desist from," *μή* with the aor. subj. "do not (in future)." Dr. Moulton[1] slightly extends the meaning of *μή* with the present imperative to include other kinds of action attached to the present stem, but reckons Luke xiv. 8 amongst the instances where the canon strictly applies in regard to *μή* with the aor. subj.

In Acts, also, all the four cases of this construction are in accordance with the canon. It would appear, then, that Luke's form is a conscious correction. Having determined that Jesus addressed his "parable" to Pharisees in the house of one of their rulers,

[1] *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, pp. 122-6.

he shrank from representing our Lord, an honoured guest, as directly insulting his table companions and, incidentally, his host.

(4) *ἐξέχοντας τόπους*—Luke *πρωτοκλισίαν.*

ἐξέχον is not found in the N.T. Probably the original was from the root יצא. In Syriac ܡܨܥܬܐ is used metaphorically for projections, battlements, parapets, cp. Heb. הַמִּגְדָּל הַיּוֹצֵא Neh. iii. 25, 26, 27, where the Greek reads *ὁ πύργος ὁ ἐξέχων*, "the upper tower." *πρωτοκλισία* occurs four times in Luke (incl. xi. 43 CD) and once each in Matt. and Mark. Its presence in the introduction to the saying of Jesus (xiv. 7) shows that its occurrence in xiv. 8 is due to the evangelist.

τόπους seems justified by the following *τόπον* found also in the parallel Lucan verse. The Syriac and Latin versions of the Bezan passage retain "place" here, but whilst the former has the noun in the singular with the attribute "honourable," the Latin translates literally by "in locis eminentioribus." The plural in the Greek and Latin agrees with the verb *ἀνακλίνεσθε*. The change of number from the second person plural to the second person singular (*σου*) is common in Semitic languages (cp. Exod. xx. 22-25). Luke has smoothed it out by using the singular throughout.

(5) *ἐνδοξότερος*—Luke *ἐντιμότερος.*

ἔντιμος is an addition by Luke in the story of the Centurion of Capernaum (vii. 2, cp. Matt. viii. 5), and in the two occurrences of *ἔνδοξος* in the third gospel (vii. 25, xiii. 17) the reference is to "things" not to persons.

(6) *ἐπέλθῃ*—Luke *ᾗ κεκλημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.*

In Aramaic the passive is frequently represented

by an intransitive verb, cp. ἔρχεται ὁ λύχνος Mark iv. 21, an idiom omitted by Luke (viii. 16).

Luke's words are doubtless meant to indicate that the newcomer is an invited guest, not a chance caller, and are nothing more than a correct interpretation of ἐπέλθῃ. D has simply ἥξει in Luke.

Codex Bezae.	Luke.
καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι, ἔτι κάτω χώρει. καὶ καταισχυνήθσῃ.	καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας ἐρεῖ σοι, δὸς τούτῳ τόπον. καὶ τότε ἄρξῃ μετὰ αἰσχύνης τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον κατέχειν.

(1) ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ—Luke ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας.

δειπνοκλήτωρ is not found elsewhere in Biblical Greek. In Classical Greek it means (*a*) "one who invites to dinner," (*b*) = ἐλέατρος "a manager of the table." The old Latin "d" alone has a substantival form twice, "coenae invitator"; "m" has "invitator" the first time; the others render it by a relative clause. Nestle believes there is a connection between δειπνοκλήτωρ and the Syriac ܡܫܬܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ "master of the feast," which is found in Syr[cur] and Syr[sin], and is also given by Aphraates for τῷ κεκληκότι αὐτόν (Luke xiv. 12). The Curetonian Syriac has it both times in the Matthean interpolation. If, as Nestle thinks, δειπνοκλήτωρ belongs to the later popular language, "it may accordingly represent not the entertainer but the *nomenclator*—the slave who acted as marshal at a dinner party."[1] This seems the more probable meaning of the word here. The host would never be engaged in moving his guests about. Probably Luke's renderings ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας, ὁ κεκληκώς σε were intended to guard against the misinterpretation of δειπνοκλήτωρ in the sense of "giver of the feast."[2]

[1] Moulton-Milligan, *Vocab. of the Greek N.T.* Pt. ii. p. 130.
[2] But see p. 109 on προσανάβηθι.

(2) *ἔτι κάτω χώρει*—Luke *δὸς τούτῳ τόπον.*

ἔτι κάτω in the sense of *κατωτέρω* is not found elsewhere in the N.T. In Aramaic, degrees of comparison are not marked by a change in the adjective or adverb, but by certain particles and connections. *ἔτι* here represents the Aramaic יַתִּיר. Luke corrects a similar Aramaism in Mark. Mark ix. 42 *καλόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον εἰ* becomes *λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ . . . ἤ* Luke xvii. 2. For the Lucan construction cp. Tobit iii. 6 *λυσιτελεῖ μοι ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν* and Andocides xvi. 28 *τεθνάναι λυσιτελεῖ ἢ ζῆν.*

The verb *χωρεῖν* is never used by Luke.

(3) *καὶ καταισχυνθήσῃ*—Luke *καὶ τότε ἄρξῃ μετὰ αἰσχύνης τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον κατέχειν.*

In Mark's gospel the use of *ἄρχεσθαι* as a quasi-auxiliary is due to the similar use of שְׁרִי in Aramaic. Mr. Allen[1] has shown that "St. Luke does not care for St. Mark's use of 'began' when used as in Aramaic as a mere auxiliary. On the other hand he does not feel able to edit the construction out of sayings with the same freedom." The original Aramaic here must have been "began to be ashamed" which Luke has edited, whilst keeping, as his custom was, the verb "to begin." The translator of the Bezan interpolation, more familiar with the Aramaic idiom, has contented himself with the verb *καταισχυνθήσῃ.*

In Codex D at Luke xiv. 9 *ἄρξῃ* is omitted, and, as Dalman observes,[2] "there is hardly any real difference in the feeling of the writer between *ἄρξῃ . . . κατέχειν* 'thou shalt begin to take' and the simple 'take.'"

Luke's *τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον* may be an inference

[1] *Commentary on Mark*, p. 49.
[2] *Words of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 28.

from the fact that the place left unoccupied would naturally be the last. His version brings out clearly the meaning implied in the Bezan narrative.

Codex Bezae.	Luke.
ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπέσῃς εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον	ἀλλ' ὅταν κληθῇς πορευθεὶς ἀνάπεσε εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον·
καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σου ἥττων ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ Σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω	ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κεκληκώς σε ἐρεῖ σοι, Φίλε, προσανάβηθι ἀνώτερον·
καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον.	τότε ἔσται σοι δόξα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν συνανακειμένων σοί.

(1) ἥττονα is a comparative representing in Aramaic a positive, and having the force of a superlative. It is properly interpreted by Luke's ἔσχατον. In Hellenistic Greek, with the exception of πρῶτος which stands for πρότερος, the general rule is that the comparative does duty for both degrees of comparison.[1]

Double τ is in general peculiarly Attic, but ἥττων is not here an Atticism. "In MSS. of the Apostolic Fathers ττ is frequent even in documents ordinarily addicted to vulgarism."[2] "Hellenistic writers retained ττ in certain words which were taken over directly from Attic, and were not current in another form in Κοινή-speaking countries. Among these words was ἡττᾶσθαι . . . and the ττ of the verb influenced the form of the adj. ἥττων."

(2) πορευθείς is not represented in the Bezan interpolation, and is also omitted by D in Luke. It may be considered a Lucan word, being found in Matt. 28, Mark 0, Luke 50, John 13, Acts 37, Pl. 6, rest of N.T. 11.

[1] See Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T.* i. 23.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 121, *n.* 2.

"The participle in place of the infinitive or the finite verb belongs to Luke's style." [1]

(3) *καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σου ἥττων.* The addition of these words making a parallel with what precedes in the "Western" reading has been already noted. For reasons already stated (see pp. 102-3) they must be considered original.

(4) *Φίλε* is not in the Bezan version. It is a characteristic word of Luke, and its addition is easily understood (cp. the addition of *ἀδελφέ* Luke vi. 42 = Matt. viii. 4).

(5) *Σύναγε*—Luke *προσανάβηθι.*

προσανάβηθι, only here in the N.T., is a classical word frequent in the LXX. Luke employs more classical words and is more familiar with the LXX than Matthew or Mark. If the preposition *πρός* indicates "motion towards a place," then *προσανάβηθι* like *Φίλε* suggests that by *ὁ κεκληκώς σε* Luke misunderstands the speaker as the host, *i.e.* *δειπνοκλήτωρ* is taken in the first rather than in the second of its meanings. *Σύναγε,* which represents an original כְּנַשׁ or כְּנַס, is not open to the same objection. It is a verb which is peculiar to "Q" (cp. Matt. iii. 12, xiii. 30, 47, xxv. 24, 26, Luke xii. 17).

(6) For *ἔτι ἄνω* see note on *ἔτι κάτω,* p. 107. *ἀνώτερον* Luke; elsewhere in Biblical Greek only Heb. x. 8, cp. *ἐσώτερος* Acts xvi. 24.

(7) *τότε* Luke. D reads *καὶ* in Luke as well as in the Matthean interpolation. *ἐνώπιον* Luke. *ἐνώπιον* is a word characteristic of Luke.[2] It is not, as was formerly thought, a Semitism, though unknown to the classical language. It is found in the papyri from 11–1 B.C. onwards, and is retained in modern Greek.[3]

[1] Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 11.
[2] Hawkins, *Synopticae,* p. 15.
[3] Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek,* i. 42.

Its frequency in Biblical Greek is due to its rendering a Hebrew physiognomical expression.

(8) *χρήσιμον*—Luke *σοι δόξα.*

Jülicher[1] quotes a passage from Lucian which forms an admirable commentary on *χρήσιμον*:

ἥκεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, οὐκὲθ' ὁμοίως ἔντιμος οὐδὲ περίβλεπτος τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἤν τις ἄλλος ἐπεισέλθῃ νεαλέστερος, ἐς τοὐπίσω σύ. καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην γωνίαν ἐξωσθείς κατάκεισαι μάρτυς μόνον τῶν παραφερομένων.

Dr. Chase[2] observes: "The word ܝܩܪܐ (honourable) is a link between the Bezan and the Curetonian texts of the Matthean passage. For this Syriac word connotes 'utility' 'profit'; thus words from this root are used in rendering *χρήσιμον* 2 Tim. ii. 11, *ὠφέλιμα* Titus ii. 8, and *ὠφελία* Rom. iii. 1."

May we not add that the word is a link between *χρήσιμον* in Matt. xx. 28 ff. (D) and *δόξα* in Luke xiv. 10? The original has been taken in one sense by the author of the Matthean interpolation in Codex Bezae, and in another by the third evangelist, who has thus introduced into the last verse a certain characteristic refinement of thought.

A position near the host at a feast was esteemed honourable. Theophrastus (*Char.* 21) esteems it *μικροφιλοτιμία* when a man *σπουδάξει παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καλέσαντα κατακείμενος δειπνῆσαι.*

V. Conclusion

We conclude that the interpolation Matt. xx. 28 ff. (D) is an independent and closer translation of the Aramaic Logion which lies behind Luke xiv. 8-10.

[1] *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, Bd. ii. S. 248.
[2] *Syro-Latin Text of Gospels*, p. 13.

Mr. Lummis[1] has shown that in the peculiar matter of Luke the degree of variation of D from the critical text is lower than elsewhere in the gospel. His theory is that Codex Bezae preserves readings of a first edition of Luke from which the peculiar matter (including the Preface) was absent. We may accept the statement of fact, if we reject the theory. In the case of sections like the so-called "Travel Document" (ix. 51–xviii. 14) the sources did not survive, but in the case of the Marcan sections there was the second gospel itself, and in the case of the "Q" sections the Matthean version of the "logia," to exercise a disturbing influence over the scribes who copied the text in the early days of Christianity. Yet it is worth noticing that the variations of D in Luke xiv. 8-10 from the text of the older uncials bring the "parable" of the lowest seats at feasts rather nearer to the Bezan version in Matthew. The passage probably owes its position in the first gospel to the nature of the foregoing account of Christ's rebuking the sons of Zebedee for the request, put forward by their mother, that one should sit on his right hand and the other on his left in the Kingdom.

The more critical scribes of the ancient MSS., if they knew the passage at all, rejected it with good reason as an interpolation, not of a piece, in language or content, with its context.

After examining the parallels in Clement of Rome to certain sayings in the Sermon on the Mount, the Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology remarks:[2] "We incline to think that we have in Clem. Rom. a citation from some written or unwritten form of 'Catechesis' as to our Lord's teaching, perhaps a local form which

[1] *How Luke was Written*, p. 42.
[2] *The N.T. in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 61.

may go back to a time before our gospels existed." With the substitution of Codex Bezae, Matt. xx. 28 ff., for Clement of Rome, the words may be applied to the passage cited. It is also probable, on grounds already stated, that the "local form" of our Lord's teaching to which Matt. xx. 28 ff. (D) belongs was the source of a considerable part of the matter peculiar to Luke known as the "Perean Section" or "Travel Document."

Luke, it is clear, has retained the thought of the original saying of Jesus, whilst altering its form, improving its language, and providing for it an introduction, a fresh setting, and an appropriate moral. He has connected the "parable" with another independent section on invitations to dinner by prefacing the latter (verse 12) with a statement that Jesus addressed it "to him also that had bidden him," *i.e.* one of the rulers of the Pharisees.

There is, of course, a certain inner connection between the two sections which had not escaped the notice of Luke.

Dr. Moffatt[1] thinks the entire collection of "table-talk" reflects the Greek symposium dialogues. It may be so.

The respect paid to his source by Luke, in editing the original of xiv. 8-11, is in contrast with the freedom with which he has occasionally edited the Marcan narrative, and, apparently, some of the sources employed in Acts. Probably this is due to the character of the source as an Aramaic logion of our Lord. Possibly, also, some differences between the Lucan "parable" and the Matthean version of it in Codex Bezae ultimately rest upon the fact thus reported by Eusebius in the words of Papias: *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο* [v.l. *συνετάξατο*] *ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.*

[1] *Introd. to the Literature of the N.T.* p. 273 *n.*

EXCURSUS

Ἀνακλίνειν is found in Matt. twice, in Mark once, and in Luke three times. Once it occurs in a "Q" passage in the first and third gospels (Matt. viii. 11 = Luke xiii. 29), once in what is almost certainly "Q" though the verse is not found in Matt. (Luke xii. 37, cp. Matt. xxv. 1-13), and once in a Marcan passage which Matt. has kept and Luke altered to κατακλίνειν (Mark vi. 39 = Matt. xiv. 19 = Luke ix. 15).

The word also occurs in Luke ii. 7, in a narrative which, by common consent, betrays a Semitic colour, and, in the opinion of many scholars, is a translation of a Hebrew source more or less worked over by the evangelist.[1] Hence in every occurrence of the verb in the N.T. there is good reason to suspect a Semitic original.

In the Syriac versions ܡܣܟܪ is used to translate ἀνακλίνειν, except in Luke ii. 7 where the verb is ܢܦܠ and the idea of reclining at table is absent. In the LXX proper ἀνακλίνειν does not occur, but for εὐφράνθητε (1 Sam. xvi. 5) G^L reads ἀνακλίθητε. The Hebrew is בָּאתֶם and many scholars "regard the M.T. as an explanation of the LXX, which they prefer as being more original and less tautologous with what follows."[2] The LXX presupposes the Heb. וּשְׂמַחְתֶּם and Lucian וּסְמַכְתֶּם. סמך is used of laying hands upon the head of sacrificial victims as those who share in the sacrifice (Ex. xxix. 10, 15, 19, Lev. i. 4, Num. viii. 12, all in P., and 2 Chron. xxix. 23). The variant of G^L is doubtless due to the translator's familiarity with the later ritual, and probably to his ignorance of the primitive sacrifice as a feast, or to his desire to conceal

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[1] See p. 79.

[2] Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, 2nd ed. p. 133.

the fact in the interests of a more highly developed conception of the rite. Budde[1] says: "G^L represents a paraphrase compromising between the two readings," *i.e.* the M.T. and the Gk. There is probably more in it than this, but, in any case, clearly *ἀνακλίθητε* was intended to render סְמַכְתֶּם or סְמָכִי.

Again, in Prov. ii. 2 for *παραβαλεῖς* Aquila, obviously desiring as always to give a more literal translation, translates the Heb. תִּטֶּה by *ἀνακλινεῖς*. Though the verb נטה means "to stretch out," "to incline," and never "to recline," the similarity between its meaning and that of סמך may have suggested Aquila's rendering. In Canticles i. 12 the substantive *ἀνακλίσις* is used of the king's table or banquet for the Heb. מֵסֵב. In Mishnaic Hebrew מסב means "banqueting couch," and the verb in the Hiphil is used in the sense of "recline at table" (cp. Mishnah Berachoth, vi.). In Sirach xxxii. 1 the Qal is used meaning "to be seated at a banquet."

In view of this history of the word, it is singular that in 3 Macc. v. 16 *ἀνακλῖναι* [v.l. *ἀνακλιθῆναι*] is used in the sense "to recline at table." 3 Maccabees, an Alexandrine production, is written in "literary and Atticistic" Greek, and, according to Mr. Thackeray, "the date as shown by epistolary formulae and papyrus evidence is probably *c.* 80 B.C."

The occurrence of *ἀνακλίνειν* in such a work may point to its use in certain circles of Greek writers, without, however, affecting the fact that translators of Jewish stock preferred it to the classical forms when rendering the Semitic term for "to recline."

"New Testament writers," say Drs. Moulton and Milligan,[2] "use *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* 'to recline at table' instead of the classical *παρα-* and *κατα-κλίνεσθαι* in a way which suggests that this was characteristic of the common

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[1] *S.B.O.T.* pp. 64-5.
[2] *Vocabulary of the Greek N.T.* Pt. i. p. 34.

speech, though we are unable to illustrate it." Whether or not the verb belonged to the Κοινή it is certain that, with the exception of 3 Macc. v. 16, it is found as in the Matthean interpolation in Codex Bezae (xx. 28 ff.), where a Semitic original lies behind it.

CHAPTER IV

LUKE THE THEOLOGIAN

I. Introduction—Doctrine of Prayer

The doctrinal tendencies of the author of the third gospel and of Acts do not lie upon the surface of his writings. It was no part of his plan in the evangelical narrative to set forth, after the manner of the fourth evangelist, an interpretation of the life of our Lord, nor yet, in his historical work, to introduce or elucidate the dogmatic teaching of the Church. Yet here and there, in his selection or presentation of the words and deeds of Christ and his Apostles, may be discerned traces of his own religious interests and prepossessions. Thus the prominence given to prayer in the gospel has its parallel in the history.

"More than any of the other evangelists Luke brings before his readers the subject of Prayer." Dr. Plummer [1] has admirably summarised the facts. "On seven occasions Luke is alone in recording that Jesus prayed (iii. 21, v. 16, vi. 12, ix. 18, ix. 29, xi. 1, xxiii. 46). Moreover, Luke alone relates the declaration of Jesus that he had made supplication for Peter, and his charge to the Twelve, 'Pray ye that ye enter not into temptation' (xxii. 32, 40). Again, Luke alone records the parables which enjoin persistence in prayer, the Friend at Midnight

[1] *Commentary on Luke*, p. xlv.

(xi. 5-13), and the Unrighteous Judge (xviii. 1-8); and to the charge to watch (Matt. xxv. 13, Mark xiii. 23) he adds 'at every season, making supplication that ye may prevail' (xxi. 36). In the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, the difference between real and unreal prayer is illustrated (xviii. 11-13)."

Turning to Acts, we find the same interest in the practice of prayer. In the twenty-eight chapters of the book there are no fewer than twenty-six references to prayer. Of these, two are in "we" sections, viz. xvi. 16, where the scene is Philippi and Luke writes "as we were going to the place of prayer," and xxi. 5, when the disciples brought their wives and children down to the seashore to bid Paul farewell, "and kneeling down on the beach," says Luke, "we prayed."

At Miletus also, when Luke was present,[1] Paul, bidding farewell to the elders of Ephesus, xx. 36, "kneeled down and prayed with them all." Prayer in time of peril (vii. 60, xii. 5, xii. 13, xiii. 24, xvi. 25) and in the presence of death (ix. 40, xxviii. 8) are conspicuous in Acts. The place of prayer in the collective life of the church is recognised, as in the appointment of apostles (i. 14, xiii. 3), deacons (vi. 6), and elders (xiv. 22), whilst the private devotions of disciples do not go unnoticed (iii. 1, x. 29, 30, xi. 4, xvi. 25, xxii. 7).

II. Doctrine (*a*) of Worship, (*b*) of Forgiveness, (*c*) of the Spirit

Closely connected with Luke's zeal for prayer is his fondness for singling out acts of worship. The expressions "praising God" and "blessing God" are almost peculiar to him in the New Testament. The glorifying of God for benefits received is more frequent in the third than in any other gospel,

[1] See "Luke the Reporter," pp. 185 ff.

whilst it is to Luke we owe the Gloria in Excelsis (ii. 14), the Magnificat (i. 46-55), the Benedictus (i. 68-79), and the Nunc Dimittis (ii. 29-32).

In his doctrine of love and forgiveness Luke was probably much indebted to the magnanimous author of 1 Corinthians xiii., but it may be said to be characteristic of his gospel.

"A developed doctrine of the Spirit" is "the most marked feature of Acts" to which "the Lucan gospel is clearly intended to lead up." "The whole tendency of Acts," says Professor Lake,[1] "is to look on the possession of the Spirit as the characteristic of the Church, rather than of an eschatological kingdom." In this respect, as in others, the doctrine of Luke approximates to that of the fourth gospel, where "the Spirit is conceived as a gift bestowed by Christ after his departure on those who called themselves by his name."[2] But the source of the Spirit is not clearly defined by Luke. "The modes of speech vary, because the conceptions are still fluid." "The doctrine of the Spirit as the moulder and fashioner of the Christian's inner life continually, as it confronts us in the Apostle's letters, is unassimilated. Luke reflects a less developed form of teaching in his writing than his greater fellow-traveller; he edits his sources in the light of the Spirit's work, but that work is still to him almost solely confined to the equipment of the Messiah, of those who prepare his way, and of those who lead on the continuation of his saving mission."[3]

III. Doctrine of Demonology

Mr. Colin Campbell[4] closely connects Luke's

[1] *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, i. 29.
[2] Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 337.
[3] Winstanley, *Spirit in the New Testament*, pp. 135-6.
[4] *Critical Studies in St. Luke's Gospel*, p. 14.

doctrine of the Holy Spirit with his demonology. "By none of the other Evangelists is the personality of Satan, as Prince of this world—the Adversary—so vividly realised as by Luke, as a counter-balance to the prominence which he gives to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit." "Demonology has for Luke deep interest. It is a controlling idea of his work."

Mr. Naylor [1] marks the contrast between the attitude of Greek medical science and the attitude of Luke in regard to demoniacal possession, and attributes the Christian physician's doctrine to the influence of Paul and his fellow-Christians and to the phenomena he witnessed in Christian circles.

No trace of Luke's pre-Christian scientific opinion of demons survives. Otherwise it is possible we might have had an interesting parallel to Cardinal Manning's *volte-face* in the matter of papal infallibility after he was converted to the Roman Church. "Between the preacher on the Anglican rule of faith in 1838, and the father of the Vatican Council in 1870, what a gulf; what a difference between his first word on papal infallibility and his last!" [2]

IV. Doctrine of the After-life

Some indications of Luke's theological opinions may be seen in his corrections of the sources he used. For example, as one trained in Greek modes of thought, he rejected the conception of a slain or destroyed soul (Matt. x. 28), whilst retaining, and even emphasising, the doctrine of punishment after death (Luke xii. 4). In effect the Gentile evangelist disapproves of the notion of a vengeance hereafter, which formed part of the current teaching of contemporary Judaism.

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, viii. 38 ff.
[2] Purcell, *Life of Manning*, i. 135.

In the parable, peculiar to Luke, of the Rich Man and Lazarus, the fire spoken of is not represented as consuming, nor is it the purpose of the parable to describe the state of the righteous and wicked after death. The thought rather resembles that of the phrase in Enoch, "descending . . . into the flame of the pain of Sheol" (lxiii. 10). The entire passage in Luke (xvi. 19-31) in form and content resembles the description of Sheol in 1 Enoch xxii. Of the latter Dr. Charles says:[1] "The writer places Sheol or Hades in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews. In all other sections of Enoch the Hebrew view prevails." Luke apparently adopted the popular view of an intermediate condition subsequent to preliminary individual judgement at death. He rejected, however, the words contained in Matt. v. 29 f. (cp. Mark ix. 43-48 = Matt. xviii. 8-9) (*καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν*), "because they suggest the false conception that a man, whilst still in the body, might enter Hades."[2] For the same reason Luke avoids the Matthean *καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ* (x. 28), and gives the fine thought contained in the words *μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων περισσότερόν τι ποιῆσαι* (Luke xii. 4). The words of Matthew recall the view of the school of Shammai that after the judgement a part of man remained in Gehenna for twelve months until the body was destroyed and the soul burnt up. It may be no mere coincidence that Luke also rejects the doctrine of Shammai, found in Matt. v. 31, permitting divorce in the case of adultery,[3] since his friend Paul had been a disciple of Gamaliel, a descendant of Hillel and head of his school.

[1] *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii. 202.
[2] B. Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, S. 100-101.
[3] See *Pericope Adulterae*, p. 276.

It is possible that Luke's conception of the life hereafter underlying his corrections of the first gospel is akin to the Pauline teaching (1 Cor. xv. 50) *σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται*, but probably the evangelist's antipathy to the current Jewish ideas of a bodily resurrection is in part due to his Greek origin and education, in part to his scientific training and experience.

"The Pauline conception of a spiritual body" was, as Dr. Oesterley[1] reminds us, "unknown to the Apocalyptists." It was, in fact, original to the Apostle. Alexandrine Judaism, of which the author of the Wisdom of Solomon was a representative, is distinguished from Palestinian Judaism by its rejection of a bodily resurrection.[2] Luke's acquaintance with Wisdom is discussed elsewhere.[3]

Expressions in the gospels relating to food in connection with the heavenly life (Luke xxii. 30; Mark xiv. 25 = Matt. xxvi. 29 = Luke xxii. 18) "must be interpreted in a figurative sense,"[4] since those who partake of it are as *ἄγγελοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* (Matt. xii. 25; cp. Matt. xxii. 30, Luke xx. 36), and the same expressions are found in the Ethiopic Enoch (civ. 4, 6, li. 4) and in the Apocalypse of Baruch "in passages where the life of the blessed is conceived in the most spiritual manner." But in no synoptic gospel is the physical nature of the risen Christ so clearly portrayed as in Luke, *ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου . . . πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει . . . ἔχετέ τι βρώσιμον ἐνθάδε; οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος καὶ λαβὼν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ἔφαγεν* (xxiv. 39, 41, 42).

The Lucan tradition has much in common with that of John xx. 19 f. B. Weiss regards it as

[1] *The Books of the Apocrypha*, p. 107, *n.* 1.
[2] Charles, *Eschatology*, pp. 304 ff.
[3] See "Luke and the Wisdom of Solomon," pp. 242 ff.
[4] Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 396.

belonging originally to Luke's third source (L). The mention of details not elsewhere noted may attest the evangelist's desire to lay stress upon our Lord's *post mortem* body in order to silence doubts of which he was personally conscious.

In the same way Sir Thomas Browne accepted traditions as a Christian which conflicted with his knowledge and experience as a physician. In the *Religio Medici* he observes: "Experience and history informs me, that not only many particular Women, but likewise whole Nations, have escaped the curse of Child-birth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole Sex. Yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my Reason would persuade me to be false; and this I think is no vulgar part of Faith, to believe a thing not only above but contrary to Reason, and against the Arguments of our proper senses."

The high esteem in which Luke held his peculiar source is manifest in his free use of it despite its markedly Jewish character.

Again, an aversion to the material conception of the Devil, entertained by Matthew, may be seen in Luke's version of the Temptation, though here, in the opinion of B. Weiss, the third evangelist is nearer to the original narrative of "Q" than the first. Luke does not describe the Devil in physical terms as approaching Jesus (*προσελθών* Matt. iv. 3), or taking him along (*παραλαμβάνει αὐτόν* Matt. iv. 5, 8). "The Devil does not speak otherwise to Jesus than does the Holy Spirit to men" (cp. Acts viii. 29). "The words employed by Luke of the action of the Devil (*ἀναγαγών—ἤγαγεν*) simply imply a carrying away in the spirit (cp. Ezek. xxxvii. 1, Rev. xvii. 3, xxi. 10)." [1]

In one sense Luke is a universalist, in another he is not. To the Marcan narrative of Christ's reply to

[1] B. Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, S. 101.

the Sadducees on the question of the resurrection he makes two significant additions. After declaring, with Mark and Matthew, that the God of the patriarchs is the God of living persons, he says (xx. 38) *πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν*. We are reminded of Paul's question and answer, "Is God the God of the Jews only? is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yea, of the Gentiles also" (Romans iii. 29). But there is a definite limitation in his allusion to those who rise from the dead, since he speaks of them "*that are accounted worthy* to attain to that world" (xx. 35), using the word *καταξιωθέντες*—a verb found elsewhere only once in Acts and in 2 Thessalonians i. 5. In the current Jewish thought the limitation of the resurrection to the righteous is in favour of the saints, patriarchs, and keepers of the Law in Israel. In Luke, as in Paul, the righteous are primarily, though not exclusively, the faithful Christians (cp. 1 Thess. iv. 16 f., 2 Thess. i. 5, Romans ii. 7).

In regard to the doctrine of future punishment, Mr. Emmet[1] has called attention "to a fact which has been very insufficiently realised; there is a marked and striking difference in this respect between the teaching of our Lord as reported by St. Luke and his teaching as reported by St. Matthew." The use by the two evangelists of words like "fire, as applied to eternal punishment," "Gehenna," "eternal" (*αἰώνιος*), "day of judgement," "outer darkness," and the phrase "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," and the "indications of a milder view of the future life" in passages peculiar to the third gospel (the Lazarus parable, the repentance of the thief at the last moment, and the saying about many and few stripes, xii. 47), proves that "Luke's attitude as to the future punishment of the sinner excluded from the Kingdom is much milder than Matthew's."

[1] *Immortality*, ed. Streeter, pp. 188-98.

Of the three passages in the gospels "in which it is argued that the context itself clearly implies everlasting punishment, the Lucan form of one (xii. 10, cp. Mark xiii. 28 ff. = Matt. xii. 31), regarded by Mr. Allen and Harnack as the original, contains neither the words "but is guilty of an eternal sin" (Mark) nor the addition of Matthew, "either in this world or that which is to come." The second passage, already noticed (Mark ix. 43 ff. = Matt. v. 29, xviii. 8 f.), is not found in Luke, and the third passage, the parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt. xxv. 31), is peculiar to the first evangelist.

Mr. Emmet observes that "on the one hand Luke's reticence might be an instance of his Paulinism, but, on the other, the language of Matthew is in line with the general Judaic and Apocalyptic tone of the first gospel." At least it is certain that Luke's teaching on this subject is consonant with his character as it is revealed in his writings generally.

V. Luke's Christology—The Voice from Heaven

In Christology several scholars have detected in Luke an approach to the Johannine type, but in some respects the Lucan type is quite primitive. Nor is this true merely of the Petrine speeches in Acts, whose doctrine rests on a tradition earlier than Luke. In the third gospel, according to the evidence of the "Western" text, Jesus became Christ at the moment of baptism.

The voice from heaven, which greeted Jesus as he rose from the baptismal waters, is variously reported in the Synoptic Gospels. The fourth gospel, though it mentions the incident of the descending dove, is as silent with regard to the words which followed that phenomenon as it is to the baptism which preceded it. In Mark the words are

addressed to Jesus, in Matthew to the bystanders: *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα* Mark i. 11; *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα* Matt. iii. 17.

Luke has preserved two readings. One, found in the earliest and the most numerous MSS., is identical with that in Mark; the other, a so-called "Western" reading, is a quotation of Psalm ii. 7: *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε.* The difficulty and dissidence of Matthew's version constitute in this instance no proof of originality. It is the form of expression used in the story of the Transfiguration in all the Synoptic Gospels, and may easily have passed thence into the narrative of the Baptism. A public proclamation instead of a private revelation would be in harmony with known tendencies of the first evangelist. Again, "when the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac agree in supporting a 'Western' reading," says Dr. Stanton,[1] "such a reading must be held to be equally well attested with what Westcott and Hort call a neutral reading."

This is the case with the reading *σὺ εἶ* in Matt. iii. 17. Dr. Burkitt[2] is of opinion that "the balance of external evidence is in this case in favour of the reading 'Thou art my son.'" The same tendency which led Tatian to prefer the "This is my son" of his text of Matthew to the "Thou art my son" of Mark and Luke would lead an over-orthodox scribe to change "Thou art" into "This is." We even find that most of the "Western" texts add *πρὸς αὐτόν* after *λέγουσα*, and, in any case, the reference to Ps. ii. 7 could hardly be missed.

Much more striking than the "Western" variant in Matthew is the "Western" reading in Luke. This is attested by D, and the old Latin codices

[1] *Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 71.
[2] *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, ii. 267.

Vercell., Veron., Colbert, Paris, Corbei (ff) Rhedig. Vratisl. Agreeing with these are, in the West, Justin (twice), "Acta Petri et Pauli," 29; Lactant., Juvenc., Hilary (five times), the translator of Origen (*Hom. on Ezech.* 17. 3), the author of the pseudo-Augustinian *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.*, Tycon., Faustus in Augustine, and Augustine. "After the beginning of the fifth century the reading vanishes completely; the Vulgate gave it its deathblow."[1] The gospel of the Ebionites, according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30, had both forms side by side.[2] In the gospel according to the Hebrews, Jerome found in the story of the Baptism the words "tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum,"[3] apparently a reminiscence of the "Western" reading. Harnack's decision seems safe, "that the most ancient exemplars of St. Luke's gospel, current in the West, agreed in reading the version of Ps. ii."[4] It is comparatively easy to see how this was replaced by the version current in the East. The conformation by scribes of the text of one gospel to that of another is a well-authenticated fact in the history of the common tradition. What made the quotation of Ps. ii. a hard saying was doubtless, as Harnack suggests,[5] "because it excluded the miraculous conception." The "inconvenience" of the tradition was responsible for the facts he alleges, viz.: (1) the Baptism was not included among the articles of the ancient Roman Symbol, (2) reference was made to the event much more rarely than from its importance we should have expected.

It is not irrelevant to observe that in Acts there

[1] Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 312.
[2] Nestle, *Nov. Test. Supp.* p. 75.
[3] Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, S. 5.
[4] Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 312.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 311.

are several allusions to the anointing of Jesus with the Spirit at his baptism, but none to his supernatural origin, and that in the gospel the reading in ii. 5 σὺν Μαριὰμ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ is attested by the Sinaitic Syriac and two old Latin texts, whilst the words ὡς ἐνομίζετο, iii. 23, and the two verses, i. 34, 35, in which alone the supernatural birth is stated, are by several scholars attributed to a later hand.

When, however, Schmiedel observes that in the third gospel "the historical tradition that Jesus was born as the eldest child of Joseph and Mary is still faithfully preserved,"[1] he is going beyond the facts so far as the text of the gospel is concerned.

On the ground of the divergent traditions as to the second clause in the words of the voice from heaven, it has been suggested that the words were originally confined to "Thou art my Son." It is an interesting speculation, but concerned primarily with the sources of Luke rather than with what the evangelist himself wrote.

That the "Western" text should have preserved the quotation of Ps. ii. 7 independently of the influence of Matt. and Mark is a strong argument for its originality. Mr. Conybeare has suggested[2] that the Bezan text originated in the interests of the idea that Jesus only became the Son of God when he was baptized. This reasoning is met by the remark of Harnack:[3] "The hypothesis of a later intrusion of the reading into the Lucan text is improbable, because of its content, and has no analogy in its favour after the Canon of Four Gospels had once been formed."

Doubtless, as Zahn says,[4] "extreme emphasis

[1] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. iii. col. 3350.
[2] *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ix. 463.
[3] *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 313, *n.* 1.
[4] *Introd. to the New Test.* (Eng. Tr.), v. 39.

was laid upon the baptism of Jesus by many heretics, and therefore the '*β*' text must have become more and more intolerable to the consciousness of the Church." With this Dr. Moffatt[1] is in agreement: "The remarkably wide prevalence of the reading in the second and third centuries is a factor in its favour. In this case there is reason to suspect that the alteration was due to doctrinal interest which found the Lucan text, 'Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee,' inconvenient and misleading." Dalman argues that the reading probably arose because the divine words, which recalled Ps. ii. 7, were made to agree with the terms of that Psalm.[2] In regard to this suggestion, the Jewish doctrine of the Bath Qol should be taken into consideration. Literally "daughter voice," Bath Qol, may be a periphrasis for a diminutive as the masc. "Ben" (son) is in Mishnaic Hebrew, and denote the little voice.

The expression means a divine utterance. It "is sometimes spoken of as audible to the outward ear, at other times as audible to the inner ear of the heart, and answers, in fact, to what we should call conscience." "The words spoken by the Bath Qol were always few in number and were as a rule *taken from Scripture*."[3] The identification in Rabbinical writings of the Bath Qol with the Holy Spirit is highly important in view of the evangelical narrative of the voice from heaven.[4]

Moreover, as Dalman himself shows,[5] the common reading is also derived from the Old Testament. *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα* recalls

[1] *Theology of the New Test.* p. 39.
[2] *Words of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 277.
[3] Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, pp. 214-15.
[4] See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ii. 589b.
[5] *Words of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 277.

Isaiah xlii. 1, 2, in the form reproduced by Matt. xii. 18, *ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ᾑρέτισα, ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου.* "The bestowal of the spirit mentioned in Isaiah xlii. 1 is clearly the motive for the allusion to this prophetic statement. What Isaiah xlii. 1 says of the servant of God was now being fulfilled."[1] There is only one difficulty; the use of *παῖς* by Isaiah, and of *υἱός* by the voice from heaven. Even this disappears when Dalman proceeds to point out that in Acts iii. 13, 26, iv. 25, 26, 30, *παῖς* means child, and that Clement of Rome, in alluding to the voice from heaven, uses *παῖς* instead of *υἱός*, a usage found also in the Wisdom of Solomon. The conclusion seems convincing that the extension of *ὁ υἱός μου* on the lines of Is. xlii. 1 was as easy and natural as on the lines of Ps. ii. 7. The addition of *ὁ ἀγαπητός*, which is a definite Messianic title,[2] to *υἱός μου*, coming as it does from the first gospel, represents a less primitive conception of Christ than that embodied in the words of the second Psalm. Further, as Blass showed,[3] the latter fit their context better than the Eastern reading. iii. 23 *καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ κ.τ.λ.* do not connect well with what precedes in the common version, whereas there is a close connection in the "Western" text. The *σήμερον γεγέννηκα* stands in opposition to the thirty years, and the *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ* likewise to *ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ.* As Keim expresses it,[4] "In a striking manner Luke has placed the pedigree of Jesus at this supreme moment of Messianic begetting." Again, the connection in thought between the voice from heaven and the Temptation which

[1] *Words of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 277.
[2] Swete, *Comm. on Mark*, p. 9; Plummer, *Comm. on Luke.*
[3] *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 169.
[4] *Jesus of Nazara* (Eng. Tr.), ii. 280.

follows the genealogy has even a prototype in the Psalm. "The rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed." Mention is made of "the holy hill of Zion" and of "the uttermost parts of the earth as the possession of the Messiah."[1] It would not be contrary to evangelical practice if these elements were shaped and reproduced in the Temptation narratives, "which are," says Dr. Sanday, "upon the face of them symbolical."[2]

If we now assume that Luke wrote the words of Psalm ii. 7, as spoken by the voice from heaven, there remains the fact that he altered the written tradition of Mark, whom, at this point, he is following. Such an alteration must have been due to his intention to set forth in order the certainties concerning the matters of Christian teaching. Hort suggested[3] that the "Western" reading came from a traditional source, written or oral.

Dr. Edwin A. Abbott[4] thinks that "the voice from heaven was given in Christian gospels before Luke, from paraphrases of Ps. ii. 7, and that Luke, desiring to be more exact as to such solemn words, resorted to a Hebrew gospel, which gave the words as in the Hebrew Bible."

It is more reasonable to think, with Harnack[5] and Dr. Stanton,[6] that "Q" contained this version of the voice from heaven, and that its authority decided Luke to deviate from the text of Mark.

Undoubtedly, as Professor Lake[7] observes, "the quotation from Ps. ii. in Luke's narrative of the baptism" gives "increased force" to the further

[1] Psalm ii. 2. [2] *D.B.* ii. 612.
[3] *New Testament Introduction*, p. 57.
[4] *Son of Man*, 3333 f.
[5] *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 314.
[6] *Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 102.
[7] *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, i. 28.

quotation in Luke iv. 18 *πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με κ.τ.λ.*, "for the connection of *ἔχρισεν* with *Χριστός* is obvious." "This, again, reflects light on Acts x. 38 *ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει*, and the similar phrase in iv. 27."

In the Acts of the Apostles, Luke again quotes Ps. ii. 7, as does also the unknown writer to the Hebrews in the first chapter of his epistle. The reference in both cases is disputed. In the report of Paul's address to the Jews at Antioch, Acts xiii. 18-41, it is commonly understood by commentators that the words express the fulfilment of the Resurrection. The A.V. even forecloses discussion by translating, "God hath fulfilled the same unto our children, in that he hath raised up Jesus *again*; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." The R.V. by omitting the word "again" has left the reference open. Nevertheless, verses 30 and 31 certainly support the traditional interpretation.

On the other hand, the following verse suggests that something else is meant, since this speaks of the scriptural witness to the resurrection as though for the first time: "And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he hath spoken on this wise, I will give you the holy and sure blessings of David." If we understand the Apostle as beginning afresh with verse 32, and the "good tidings of the promise" to refer to the appointment of the Messiah, the antithesis between "raised up Jesus" and "raised him up from the dead" (v. 34) is quite clear, and both the two verses and the two quotations acquire an intensified significance. That *ἀνιστῆναι* can be used in the former sense may be seen from the following examples. In Acts xiii. 22 "raised up" is used of the appointment of David to be King of

Israel. In Acts iii. 22 and vii. 27 the verb is used in a quotation of Deut. xviii. 15, in reference to elevation to the prophetic office, a passage understood by Luke in a Messianic sense. In Acts iii. 26 God "raised up" his servant (παῖς), meaning son, a passage already mentioned. Elsewhere, ii. 24, ix. 41, xiii. 34, xvii. 31, it is used of raising from death, in the first two cases the context being decisive, and in the last two "from the dead" being expressly stated. If the word, then, in xiii. 33 be referred to the Messianic appointment and the divine declaration of sonship at the baptism of Jesus, parallels to this usage are not wanting in the book of Acts. On this view, Paul having spoken of the promised gift of a Saviour, verse 23, briefly relates the story of his death and resurrection, and closes with the mention of Christ's "witnesses unto the people." The last phrase may almost be said to be taken from the lips of Jesus, for he ended his address to the disciples after the resurrection, "and ye shall be my witnesses—unto the uttermost parts of the earth" (Acts i. 8). Peter closes his speech to the brethren before the successor to Judas is appointed with a reminder of the Lord's saying; and with the same words he brings to an end his speech before the High Priest (v. 32). Thrice he employs the phrase, as Paul did in Acts xiii. 31, in order to convince his hearers of the central element in his doctrine, and then further elaborates his theme. Acts xiii. 32 may therefore represent a fresh beginning. The "promise" in verse 32, as in verse 23, "which God fulfilled," was the gift of a Messiah, whose call was made at the Baptism, and reported by Luke, Acts xiii. 33, as in his gospel, iii. 22, in the words of Psalm ii. 7, *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.*

Hebrews i. 5 may be referred to the same incident in the life of Christ. "A more exalted

name," i. 4, is that of "Son." The words which precede plainly celebrate the exaltation of Christ, but the inheritance of the name was prior to the glorified state, and belongs to the days of his flesh. "It is absolutely impossible to imagine how Jesus could have arrived at the conviction that he was the future Messiah without first knowing himself as standing in an unique relationship to God."[1] This self-revelation occurred, according to the gospels, at the moment of his baptism by John. There is no necessity, with Origen and many modern commentators, to think that the quotation of Ps. ii. 7 in this Epistle refers to the eternal generation, though Philo uses σήμερον in the sense of eternity. "The word, both in its primary and in its secondary meaning, naturally marks some definite crisis, as in the inauguration of the theocratic king, and that which would correspond with such an event in the historic manifestation of the divine king."[2] The interpretation of σήμερον as an expression for that which is eternal appears to be false to the context. "γεγέννηκα marks the communication of a new and abiding life."[3] Westcott dates this at the time when the divine sovereignty was established by the resurrection, depending for his precedents upon Pauline usage. The historic manifestation of the divine king may just as easily be understood of the Baptism in harmony with Luke. More than any other evangelist is Luke connected in language with the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The exalted conception of Christ which distinguishes the Epistle is not exclusive of emphasis upon the historic and human elements in the life of our Lord. The Temptation which is mentioned

[1] Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 301.
[2] Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebrews*, p. 19.
[3] *Ibid.*

twice was preceded by the divine pronouncement at the Baptism, the words of which are also given.

We therefore conclude that the voice from heaven in the third gospel spoke the words of Ps. ii. 7, and that the quotation of the same verse in Acts and Hebrews refers to the divine utterance on the occasion of Christ's baptism by John.

VI. Doctrine of Atonement

When we pass from Luke's doctrine of the Baptism, and, incidentally, the birth of Christ to that of his death, we notice a singular reticence in his statements relating thereto. The announcements by Jesus of the approaching Passion are reported by him (ix. 22, 44; xvii. 33) as by Mark and Matthew, and in similar terms. Whether he connected the necessity of death laid upon our Lord with his Messianic vocation, or simply with the force of circumstances consequent upon his word and work, may here be left an open question. It is more important to mark the omission by Luke of the phrase (Mark x. 45 = Matt. xx. 28) *καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.* Instead of this saying, Luke (xxii. 27) has simply *τίς γὰρ μείζων, ὁ ἀνακείμενος ἢ ὁ διακονῶν; οὐχὶ ὁ ἀνακείμενος; ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι ὡς ὁ διακονῶν.* The precise meaning of the Marcan phrase has been the subject of much controversy. It is, at least, significant that Luke does not ascribe such language to our Lord. The "Western" text, it is true, runs rather differently, but the same idea is presented.

Again, the words in Luke (xxii. 19[b], 20) which represent Christ's death in a sacrificial covenant aspect are omitted by various "Western" authorities including Codex Bezae; the Curetonian Syriac omits verse 20, and the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac, with the Latin "b" and "c," place verse 19 before

verse 17. The difficulties of the ordinary text, and its suspicious coincidence with 1 Corinthians xi. 24, "leave us no moral doubt," says Hort,[1] "that the words in question were absent from the original text of Luke, notwithstanding the purely 'Western' ancestry of the documents which omit them."

"This is just one of these cases," writes Dr. Sanday[2] "in which internal evidence is strongly in favour of the text which we call 'Western.' The temptation to expand was much stronger than to contract; and the double mention of the cup raises real difficulties of the kind which suggest interpolation." Probably the tendency named must be held accountable for Matthew's reading *ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* (xxvi. 28) instead of *ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* with Mark (xiv. 24).

So much for the merely textual aspect of the passage in question. It is a further corroboration of the "Western" text that the Pauline and commonly accepted Christian view of the last meal is wanting therein. "Jesus begins, according to the Jewish custom, with the cup," and the leading thought expressed in verse 20 is that "his body—what he had offered them through his life and teaching—what he had been to them—he gives them as the food which effects their union, as the source out of which they shall renew their life-blood."[3] Such a conception could only have had its origin in the earliest days of the Christian community.

In Acts the paucity of reference to the Atonement in the speeches of Peter and Paul is remarkable even though Luke in Acts i.–xv. 35 is dependent upon an Aramaic source.

[1] *Introduction App.* p. 64.
[2] *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 636.
[3] John Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, S. 44.

The remission of sins is associated by Peter with baptism in the name of Christ (ii. 38), with the exaltation of Christ (v. 31), with belief in Christ (x. 43), and by Paul with Christ whom God had raised up (xiii. 48).

The question arises, Why did Luke thus omit from his writings any clear allusion to the Atonement?

The Bishop of Manchester thinks it may be due to the fact that Luke wrote for Theophilus—a Greek to whom the Cross was perhaps foolishness. Probably, however, Theophilus himself, like Luke, had become a Christian when the evangelist dedicated to him his two books.[1] Otherwise how could Luke say in the preface to his gospel that he had written it "ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν" (i. 4)? Besides the reason alleged rather suggests an unworthy motive for Luke's silence—nothing less than a desire to curry favour with a patron by the suppression of any reference to a central doctrine of the primitive faith.

Other reasons more in harmony with the methods and character of our author, as they are revealed by a study of his works, are not far to seek.

The saying of Jesus reported by Luke (xxii. 27) more aptly fits the context than that which is found in Mark or in Matthew.

The Twelve are at supper with Jesus when a dispute breaks out amongst them as to which of them is to be accounted greatest. Jesus, after contrasting them with the Gentiles, asks, "For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth."

Wellhausen[2] rightly remarks "the words καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν do not

[1] See "Luke and his Friends," p. 218.
[2] *Das Evangelium Marci*, S. 84-5.

suit the preceding διακονῆσαι, for that means 'to serve,' 'to wait at table.' The transition from such service to the sacrifice of life is a μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος."

Merx finds in the Marcan saying "to give his life as a ransom," on the analogy of a similar Arabic expression, merely a hyperbolical expression for "to render the highest service." If this view be accepted then Luke's rendering of it might be regarded as an interpretation designed to bring out its essential meaning, and guard against a sacrificial theory. But this exegesis of the passage in Mark lacks adequate support.

Field[1] urges that διακονία is not restricted to "waiting at table" and "serving up the dishes," but, as in Plutarch, may include the preparations for the feast. In point of fact the word could be used in a much more general sense, as in an Oxyrhynchus Papyrus dated A.D. 66, in which a man apprentices his son to a weaver διακονοῦντα καὶ ποιοῦντα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα αὐτῷ. But this extension of meaning does not materially affect Wellhausen's argument—the particular nature of the service denoted by the term being determined by its context.

It may be added that of the eight occurrences of διακονῆσαι in Luke's writings (six in the gospel and two in Acts) all may bear the specific meaning of service in connection with a feast, whilst four, if not five, can mean nothing else.

In Acts (vi. 3) Luke, following faithfully his source, represents the Twelve as disdaining the service at table which their master had exalted. Probably their conception of διακονία as menial prepared the way for the version of our Lord's words in Mark and Matthew on the occasion of a memorable supper.

[1] *Notes on Select Passages of the New Testament*, p. 44.

To what source must Luke's version of Christ's words be attributed?

Bernhard Weiss[1] suggests that Luke in xxii. 25-27 has worked over Mark x. 41-45 "in his own free way under the influence of 'Q.'" "The thought of Luke xxii. 26 rests on perfectly historical circumstances, for the *νεώτεροι*, according to the pattern of the Synagogue still existent in the oldest Christian societies, were these everywhere who had to render service of hand (cf. Acts v. 6, 1 Peter v. 5), and the *ἡγούμενοι* are to be found (as in Acts xiv. 12, 15, 22, Heb. xiii. 17, 24) in a position of leadership." "Above all, the reference to his own example by Jesus (Luke xxii. 27) is clothed in parabolic form" whilst "Mark depicts the perfectly general view that Jesus did not come to be served, but to serve, confirmed by an allusion to the last and final service which he rendered by the giving up of life." It may be added that Luke's narrative at this point embodies also accurate historical pictures of *οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν* and of *οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες*,[2] and his treatment of these leads up naturally to the saying *τίς γὰρ μείζων, ὁ ἀνακείμενος ἢ ὁ διακονῶν; οὐχὶ ὁ ἀνακείμενος; ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι ὡς ὁ διακονῶν* (xxii. 27), which seems primitive, and is certainly preferred by Luke, to the saying in Mark *καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* (Mark x. 45).

Dr. Bartlet[3] thinks that Luke is following "Q" which contained a Passion story. Dr. Burkitt[4] also holds that in this section of the Third Gospel "we have a fragment of 'Q.'" Sir John Hawkins,[5] on the contrary, is of opinion that Luke in his Passion narrative does not desert the second gospel,

[1] *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, S. 121-2.

[2] See *εὐεργέτης* in inscriptions, Deissman, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 248 ff.

[3] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 334 ff.

[4] *Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 135.

[5] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 76 ff.

but employs it with unusual and remarkable freedom, which he explains as owing to his previous knowledge and use of a Passion narrative as Paul's fellow-worker.

As between these two theories, the first has this in its favour (1) that the "ransom saying" is essentially Pauline in spirit and is yet absent from a narrative, which, on the second theory, is inspired by the Apostle or by "Christians of the Pauline type," (2) that "Q," the most primitive of Christian records, as Harnack and Mr. Streeter have sought to prove, probably contained little that may be called doctrinal in the ecclesiastical sense of the term. Neither Harnack nor Mr. Streeter believes that "Q" originally contained an account of the Passion, but the English scholar[1] admits "it is possible that the version of 'Q' which reached Luke had been already expanded to include an account of the Passion."

A third theory of the origin of Luke's version of the disciples' dispute has been more recently expounded by Mr. Buckley.[2] He recognises three main sources of the third gospel, Mark, "Q," and "T," to the last of which is credited Luke xxii. 15-46.

"T," it is supposed, was a gospel which perished after the third evangelist had made a free use of it. Indeed, we are told that "much of the Lucan matter commonly ascribed to 'Q' was already embodied in 'T.'"

Differing as they do in important points, these three theories agree that Luke abandoned Mark at x. 45 or thereabouts under the influence of some other authority, oral or written. In other words, Luke the historian follows in chap. xxii. an authority, which, for good reasons, he esteemed more highly than the second gospel.

[1] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 203.
[2] *Introd. to the Synoptic Problem*, p. 206.

If the short "Western" text is adopted, the only cup mentioned is given before the bread at the last supper (cf. 1 Cor. x. 16, Didache ix.), and not after it, as in Mark xiv. 22-24 (so Matt. xxvi. 26-28). "Such an inversion," states Sir John Hawkins,[1] "is more likely to occur in oral than in documentary transmission." Even so it would seem that Luke here, as in his report of the Voice from Heaven, followed a recension of "Q"—itself originally an oral collection of Logia.

Certainly there is nothing in his attitude towards Mark to show that he would follow the second evangelist if "Q," or "T," or oral tradition conflicted with him. On the contrary, there are some indications that point in the opposite direction.[2]

Again, Dr. Moffatt [3] has remarked what a study of the passage reveals. "The narrative of the Lord's supper (even in its shorter form) betrays the writer's affinity with Paulinism, but the remarkable thing is that there are so few specifically Pauline ideas wrought into the texture of a gospel whose author stood within the Pauline circle. The atmosphere of the primitive church can be felt." "Luke could be a friend of Paul without sharing his specific theology, and an analysis of the third gospel turns the 'could be' into 'was.'" It is in the light of this important fact that one must view the absence of teaching respecting the atonement in the speeches of Peter, Stephen, and Paul reported in the Acts of the Apostles.

As Professor Lake observes [4] "the death of the Christ has in Acts but little theological importance." In the speeches of Peter and Stephen, the death of Christ is regarded as a wicked act on the part of the

[1] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 84.
[2] See "Luke the Man of Letters," pp. 5-6.
[3] *Theology of the Gospels*, p. 23.
[4] *Dictionary of Apostolic Church*, i. 28.

Jews rather than as a necessary part of a plan of salvation. The most important passage is iii. 17 ff., "The cause of the blotting out of sins is here, as in the Old Testament prophets, repentance and change of conduct; nothing is said to suggest that this would not have been effective without the sufferings of a Messiah."

The general accuracy and fidelity to facts of Luke raises a presumption in favour of his having given in the speeches such an account of their doctrine as he was acquainted with from his sources. Professor Torrey's view that these sources were Aramaic has already been stated.[1]

Professor Lake[2] regards the speeches rather differently. "There certainly is an absence of 'Pauline' doctrine in the speeches in the Acts, if we accept the reconstructions which are based on the view that in the Epistles we have a complete exposition of St. Paul's teaching. But if we realise that the Epistles represent his treatment by letter of points which he had failed to bring home to his converts while he was with them, or of special controversies due to the arrival of other teachers, there is really nothing to be said against the picture given in Acts."

This attempt to approach a solution of the problem of the relation between Paul's reported speeches and his written word has a certain validity. But it is questionable whether the Epistles can properly be regarded as supplementary to his addresses. It is surely significant that the only speech of Paul which Luke certainly heard is unmistakably Pauline in spirit and in language.[3] This may, indeed, be held to confirm the suggestion that the speeches of Paul elsewhere are an accurate

[1] See "Luke the Linguist," pp. 66 ff.
[2] *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, i. 18.
[3] See "Luke the Reporter," p. 186.

expression of Apostolic doctrine. And in the main this conclusion may be accepted. But there is a difference between the report of an address at which Luke almost openly acknowledges that he was present, and the accounts of speeches, depending upon sources and traditions, which required to be translated, shaped, and formed. What the historian heard for himself he faithfully set down, what he learnt at second or third hand had been said by Paul in a given situation he treated with more freedom, partly, doubtless, owing to the nature of the authorities available, partly, also, under the influence of a subjective interest. The very existence in Acts of the speech of Paul at Miletus to the elders of Ephesus, and particularly the doctrine of words like those in xx. 28, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου* (v.l. *Θεοῦ*) *ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* —however we read or interpret them—proves that Paul did not wholly neglect the doctrine of the Atonement in his missionary addresses.

Otherwise stated, Luke, in his selection of material from the apostolic preaching, must have passed over, perhaps only half consciously, those elements in it which to him seemed least primitive, valuable, or vital.

Mr. Rackham, indeed, argues that "the doctrine of the Atonement is implicit" in Acts.[1] "The early church did not require a new theory. The doctrine of atonement by vicarious suffering was enunciated in the Old Testament, especially in the great prophecy of Isaiah liii."

The last statement is undeniable. But Dr. Kenneth[2] has shown in his article on "The Conflict between Priestly and Prophetic ideas in the Church of Israel" that "down to the Exile there was a school of prophets who insisted that sacrifice was

[1] *Commentary on Acts*, p. lxxiv.
[2] *The Interpreter*, January 1918, p. 110.

not part of the original religion of Israel, and that it was hateful to Jehovah." He concludes, "The work of Christ, though it is possible to set it forth in terms of sacrifice, since it accomplishes for us what the Jews thought to be accomplished for them by sacrifice, is not sacrificial, but prophetic."

If in the early Christian Church it would be too much to infer from the extant evidence that there was any conflict between the Priestly and Prophetic interpretations of the work of Christ, it is clear that to some at least of his earliest disciples the function of Jesus was that of prophet rather than priest.

Apparently this is how Luke regarded it. In his mind, as a Gentile, the doctrine of the atoning sacrifice of Christ did not assume that singular significance, which it did in the mind of Paul, the converted Pharisee, or, in a lesser degree, of Mark, formerly "of the circumcision," or of that Christian Rabbi, to whom we owe the gospel according to St. Matthew.

CHAPTER V

LUKE THE HUMORIST

I. Introduction—Luke's Humour

Modern students of the New Testament are familiar with Luke the Physician. The medical language of the third gospel and of Acts has been minutely discussed by many writers. The legend that Luke was a painter goes back to the sixth century, and is certainly supported by artistic sketches in his writings. As Harnack puts it,[1] "the pictorial style is a frequent characteristic of Luke." The claims of Luke to be an historian despite trenchant criticism have been justified by scientific investigation. Luke the Humorist remains almost unknown. Yet on *a priori* grounds we might reasonably expect that he would not be destitute of humour who was the most accomplished of evangelists, and the first, though by no means the feeblest, of the Christian historians. In truth, it may be said that humour shines in the face of Luke, whether we regard him as Physician, Painter, or Historian. This is not to credit the Evangelist with a quick wit and lively fancy. Humour is no surface quality of the mind. It springs from a deep source, and pervades the whole being.

"The common opinion among modern psycho-

[1] *The Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 121.

logists," says Mr. Reid,[1] "is that the perception of the incongruous and the inconsistent is the cause or source of humour. It is invariably associated with alertness and breadth of mind, a keen sense of proportion, and faculties of quick observation and comparison. It involves a certain detachment from or superiority to the disturbing experiences of life. It appreciates the whimsicalities and contradictions of life, recognises the existence of what is unexpected and absurd, and extracts joy out of what might be a cause of sadness." "Humour is kindly, and in its genuine forms includes the quality of sympathy."

In Luke, as in most men, sympathy was not a mere duplicate emotion—a reflection of some feeling experienced by another. It contained elements of tenderness, expressed in moving pictures of outcasts and sinners. It contained also as a seed the flower, the saving grace of humour, which only needed soil and sun to bear in due season bright laughter as it were a bloom.

Luke's humour is not boisterous, nor out of place, else had it been earlier remarked. The nature of his task and of his materials necessarily restrained his manner. His purpose in Acts has been set forth by none more aptly than by Harnack.[2] "It was to show how the power of the Spirit of Jesus in the Apostles founded the Primitive Community, called into being the mission to the Gentiles, conducted the Gospel from Jerusalem and set the receptive Gentiles' world in the place of the Jewish nation, which hardened its heart more and more against the appeal of Christianity." In his gospel, Luke's purpose has been defined by himself.[3] He wrote in order that a friend might know the certainty concerning the things wherein he had been instructed, in other words, concerning the course of Christ's

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi. 872-3.
[2] *The Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 30. [3] Luke i. 4.

career and the character of His teaching. These were serious, in some ways, sad themes. There was much in the life story of Christ and His Apostles to evoke the tenderness in Luke's sympathy, but comparatively little to bring out the humour which lay near his heart. Again, the evangelist and historian had his sources, some of which, at least, were known to his first circle of readers. Apart from the limits to his liberty set by a high sense of his mission, these witnesses would constantly check any tendency to indulge his humour. Yet joy and gladness abound in his works, and humour is by no means wanting. Even the Lucan word for joy is characteristic.[1] "Indeed in the New Testament it is in his writings alone that we find the word εὐφροσύνη as well as the more usual words χαρά and χαίρειν—εὐφραίνεσθαι is more frequent with him than in all the other writings of the New Testament taken together, and various expressions of joy run through both his works."[2] "Συνχαίρειν is in the gospels exclusively Lucan."[3]

Εὐφραίνεσθαι Luke connects almost exclusively with the partaking of food. He evidently had a feeling for the joy that springs from the common festal meal, and regarded it also in a religious light. Without any disrespect to the piety of the evangelist, another consideration may be urged. The joy of the common meal springs largely from the lightheartedness and good humour of the participants. Luke's own contributions doubtless lighted up the faces of his friends, so that he came to think of the meal as a joyous festival. It is not without scientific basis to suggest that his medical cures, to which one reference at least is made,[4] were aided by

[1] *The Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 277.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 278, note.
[3] Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 93.
[4] Acts xxviii. 10.

his bright, genial disposition. Paul, too, who took him along to Rome, may have chosen him as companion as much for his good humour as for his skill in medicine. The Apostle himself resembled Luke in his expression of joyfulness. Possibly this was due in part to the contagious nature of good humour, in part to a common Hellenic culture. But Paul was a prey to suffering in an acute and apparently repulsive form. The precise nature of "the thorn in the flesh" can scarcely be determined, whether malarial fever, or epilepsy, or ophthalmia. Professor Ramsay pleads strongly for the first, Lightfoot and others for the second, and Weizsäcker for the third. The evidence is too slight for a decisive diagnosis. In any case, the effect upon the spirits must have been depressing, and the presence of a cheerful comrade extremely helpful. Had Luke not so completely subordinated his own personality to that of his hero in the "we" passages of Acts, we might have learnt what beneficial influence he exerted over the mind of the Apostle. As it is, we can only conjecture that his sunny disposition was an important factor in the crises of their common enterprise. Joy was characteristic of Luke, and, as the psychologists assure us and experience proves, joy is a diffusive emotion. It is concerned not only with the object which awakens it, for it colours our view of man and the universe. With Luke, joy was rather a permanent than a passing state of mind.[1] The gospel begins with "joy" (joy of many over the birth of St. John the Baptist, i. 13: "Behold I bring you tidings of great joy; for to you is born this day the Saviour," ii. 10); and with joy it closes (the disciples are ἀπιστοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς, xxiv. 41, and they return to Jerusalem with great joy, xxiv. 52). It is the same in Acts. There is good reason for thinking that joy ran through

[1] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 278.

Luke's life like a beam of sunlight and is reflected in his word and work.

Such joy was not and never is alien and hostile to sorrow. "We are led to suspect," says Mr. Shand,[1] "that some subtle interaction of joy and sorrow may be the source of all tenderness." There is, indeed, a wondrous blending of these apparent opposites in all tender emotion. Sometimes one, sometimes the other predominates, but both are always present.

Luke, the "Greatheart" of the New Testament writers, was in a peculiar degree a man of tender emotions. His version of the life and teaching of Jesus is, more than the other synoptists, characterised by its deep emotional note. Not to mention the moving passages in the parables and in the story of the Passion, what a wealth of feeling lies behind the simple statement he alone makes that after Peter's third denial of him "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter"! (xxii. 61). In Acts he reports in a "we" passage the words of Paul, "What do ye weeping and breaking my heart?" (xxi. 13), records the weeping of the friends who mourned for Dorcas (ix. 39), and, in a single chapter (xx.), tears, affliction, and sorrowing are mentioned.

Luke's humour is less prominent, but not less real, than his joy or sorrow, and it is found in both his books, touched now and again with a dash of sarcasm.

II. Parable of Unwilling Guests

Conspicuous examples are the Parables of the Unwilling Guests and the Friend at Midnight in the Gospel, and the narratives of the riot at Ephesus and of Paul's Speech at Athens in the Acts of the Apostles. The first-named (xiv. 16-24) is identified

[1] Stout, *Groundwork of Psychology*, p. 215.

by Harnack and Jülicher with the curiously different parable in Matthew xxii. These differences do not directly concern us, except in so far as the precise excuses of the guests in Luke must be attributed rather to the Evangelist than to our Lord. In these is the humour of Luke made manifest. "The first said, 'I have bought a field, and I must needs go out and see it: I pray thee have me excused.' And another said, 'I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused.' And another said, 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.'" The first pleads necessity, and asks pardon; the second asks pardon, but pleads no necessity; the third alleges sheer impossibility, and dispenses with the plea for pardon. The first two declare, though with courtesy, that they will not come; the last, rudely, that he cannot. The meaning of the parable in the mouth of Jesus is admirably explained by many commentators. What is less plainly shown is the humour in the excuses of the guests. The three men were summoned at the same time. The translation "with one consent" understands γνώμης after ἀπὸ μιᾶς. But, as Jülicher argues,[1] ἄρχεσθαι ἀπό requires ὥρας which is also supported by the Vulgate and the Syr. sin. cur. Apparently the guests were together when bidden to the feast, and, as excuse-making, like yawning, is infectious, were all equally disinclined to accept the invitation. "Comedy," says Bergson,[2] "takes note of similarities. It aims at placing types before our eyes." This is done "by showing us several different copies of the same model." Mark the nature of the apologies offered. One had bought a field, and must needs go and see it. There is a note of urgency, though, as Luke seems to suggest, the field would be there next day, for no one would

[1] *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, S. 411.
[2] *Laughter* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 163, 165.

run off with it. The second had bought oxen, and is going to prove them. They were seen before they were bought, and could be tried later. A man can always be on business if he will, is what we read between the lines. The third had made no purchases. But a bright idea occurs to him. He will be most decisive. He remembers he has married a wife; therefore, to accept the invitation is quite out of the question. Probably the reply contains a covert allusion to the law in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 5) which says that "when a man taketh a new wife, he shall not go out in the host, neither shall he be charged with any business; he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer his wife which he hath taken." "The law," says Dr. Driver,[1] "is prompted by the spirit of consideration for a man's domestic relations, and unwillingness to interfere with them unnecessarily." In the Parable, however, it is not military service, but a festal banquet to which the man is bidden. As Luke hints, there is no danger to his person lying in wait at the feast. The evangelist has a particular interest in women, and never treats them with the levity or contempt characteristic of the period. But he knows that the husband's absence for an hour or two will not greatly disturb the young wife, and does not admit this man to be such a model partner as he professes to be.

All the excuses bear upon them the stamp of invention, and do not deceive the giver of the feast. They are like those current in certain social circles at the present time, such as the conventional form of evading callers, or untimely invitations. Read aright, the humour of Luke gleams through the Parable of Jesus, despite its serious and solemn significance.

[1] *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, p. 273.

III. Parable of Friend at Midnight

The Parable of the Friend at Midnight[1] which follows the Lord's Prayer has no parallel in Matthew. It is doubtless based on some illustration used by Jesus, but in form entirely, and in substance partially, is the creation of Luke. The picture is drawn from village life. A guest has arrived unexpectedly, no provision has been made for him, and nothing remains but to borrow. The scene must have been painted by an artist with a smile on his face. Being knocked up in the night does not improve the temper of the sleeper, who responds to the greeting "Friend" with a surly "Trouble me not." There is something to be said for the man in bed. Hebrew hospitality was indeed conspicuous, and no sacrifice was too great to secure the comfort of a guest. But guests also were expected to observe their obligations. They must reach the resting-place before sunset. The proverb ran, "He who arrives after sundown goes supperless to bed." The reason for this was that the host should have time to prepare such a repast as did him credit. A friend at midnight might by Hebrew custom reasonably demand shelter but not food. Social custom sanctioned the apparent surliness of the sleeper.

Again, bread is not something which, in the strict sense of the word, can be borrowed, if it is to be of service to the borrower. At best, its equivalent only can be returned. The persistence of the perplexed host achieves its purpose. The slumberer concedes to the wishes of his caller out of regard for his own peace. No one who has passed through a similar experience can fail to see how virtue, in certain cases, becomes a necessity. The sacred context of the Parable should not blind

[1] Luke xi. 5-8.

us to the humour of a situation wherein bread-borrowing at midnight is the central incident.

IV. Account of Riot at Ephesus

In the account of the riot at Ephesus [1] we meet with another vein of humour. The scene is vividly described — the anxiety of Demetrius, the clamour of the craftsmen, the behaviour of the mob, and the address of the town-clerk. With Professor Ramsay, the text of the Codex Bezae is at various points preferred to that of the so-called Neutral text. Thus in verse 28 the tradesmen are said to have rushed into the street, a touch which can hardly have been invented. Both here and in verse 34 the cry is not "Great is Artemis of Ephesus," but "Great Artemis." The former is [2] "the quiet expression in which a worshipper recognises and accepts a sign of the goddess's power, drawing an inference and expressing his respect and gratitude." The latter was [3] "a common formula of devotion and prayer, as is attested by several inscriptions; and it gives a more natural and a far more effective tone to the scene." The Artemis of Thermas in Lesbos is invoked by the phrase "Great Artemis of Therma," which appears on a stone still standing by the road between Therma and Mitylene.[4] All the inscriptions show that the power of the goddess was a prominent idea in the cult and give point to the reiteration of the formula by the mob.[5]

It was a case of invoking the aid of a *powerless* deity, such as is spoken of, in the same spirit, by Isaiah and by the Psalmist. The prophet speaks [6]

[1] Acts xix. 23-41.
[2] *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 279.
[3] Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 279.
[4] *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1880, p. 430.
[5] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv. col. 1099.
[6] Isaiah xliv. 17.

of a man who, after consuming part of a tree in a fire to roast flesh for food, "maketh the residue thereof into a god, even his graven image; he falleth down unto it and worshippeth, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me; for thou art my god." The Psalmist, in like manner, derides men,[1] whose idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. "They have mouths, but they speak not: Eyes have they, but they see not: They have ears, but they hear not: Noses have they, but they smell not: They have hands, but they handle not: Feet have they, but they walk not. They that make them shall be like unto them; Yea, every one that trusteth in them."

"In the scene at Ephesus," says Ramsay,[2] "we cannot mistake the tone of sarcasm and contempt, as Luke tells of this howling mob; they themselves thought they were performing their devotions, as they repeated the sacred name; but to Luke they were merely howling, not praying." The situation may be termed equivocal—"one which permits of two different meanings at the same time," and consists "in the collision or coincidence of two judgements that contradict each other."[3] The tumult is depicted in Luke's merriest manner.[4] "Some therefore cried one thing, and some another; for the assembly was in confusion; and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together." The mingling of many cries from men who knew not what was the matter appealed to the humour of the evangelist. The sarcasm, as Ramsay urges, is plainly perceptible. But present also, though quite subordinate, is the element of sympathetic pity. However he despised pagan practices, Luke was a Gentile with a genuine love of the Greek

[1] Psalm cxv. 5-8. [2] Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 279.
[3] Bergson, *Laughter* (Eng. Tr.), p. 97.
[4] Acts xix. 32.

people, and did not look upon this superstitious crowd without a sigh.

V. Account of Paul's Stay at Athens

The same attitude is displayed in Luke's narrative of Paul's stay at Athens.[1] A slight variation in the text of Codex Bezae from that of the earliest MSS. has rightly won the approval of Ramsay.[2] "The explanatory clause in verse 18 is wanting in the Bezan Text and an old Latin version and is foreign to Luke's fashion of leaving the reader to form his own ideas with regard to the scene. It is apparently a gloss suggested by verse 32, which found its way into the text of almost all MSS. The different opinions of the philosophers in verse 18 are purposely placed side by side with a touch of gentle sarcasm on their inability, with all their acuteness, to agree in any opinion about Paul's meaning." A single slang expression used by Luke, σπερμολόγος, is taken, as Blass says, from the very lips of the Athenians. Professor Ramsay translates it by the word "Bounder."[2] In a papyrus it is applied "to the crumbs and scraps thrown out in the streets to the dogs. It evidently meant to these learned Athenians that Paul was not an original philosopher, but was a picker-up of certain scraps of philosophy which had been thrown away by authorised and properly educated teachers."[3]

Athenian love of novelty is admirably hit off by Luke in his parenthetical remark, "Now all the Athenians and the strangers sojourning there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing." As Mr. Capes says in *University Life in Ancient Athens*: "The

[1] Acts xvii. 16-30.
[2] *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 242.
[3] Cobern, *New Archaeological Discoveries*, p. 489.

people commonly was nothing loath to hear; they streamed as to a popular preacher in our own day, or to an actor starring in provincial towns: the epicures accepted the invitation to the feast of words, and hurried to the theatre to judge as critics the choice of images, and refinement of the style, and all the harmony of balanced periods." In one of his Lent discourses Massillon reproves such hearers. "It is not to seek corn," he says, "that you came into Egypt. It is to seek out the nakedness of the land." Luke's mood, however, as he tells of the curiosity and criticism of those who gathered round Paul, is not simply contemptuous. He, like the Apostle, recognised that the Athenians were *δεισιδαιμονέστεροι*, a term which is rendered by the R.V. margin "somewhat religious," or better still, as Ramsay turns it, "more than others respectful of what is divine" rather than by the A.V. "somewhat superstitious."

The noun "*δεισιδαιμονία*" used by Festus addressing King Agrippa (Acts xxv. 19) means simply "religion," "without any pronouncement as to whether it is right or wrong,"[1] as in an inscription dated 39 B.C. relating to a temple enclosure of the goddess Aphrodite. In Xenophon and Aristotle *δεισιδαίμων* has the sense of "pious." The A.V. rendering of *δεισιδαιμονέστεροι* is due to the influence of the Vulgate. But Paul was not the man to raise a prejudice against himself by insulting his hearers at the very outset of his address.

VI. Speech of Tertullus

Another passage, quoted by Dr. Gardner[2] to illustrate Luke's dramatic instinct, not less happily exhibits his humour. In the fulsome flattery of

[1] Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the N.T.* p. 139.
[2] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 387.

Felix by Tertullus (Acts xxiv. 1-8) Luke "with gentle irony exaggerates the verbose fussiness of the professed orator" and gives us "a graphic sketch of a second-rate pleader in the courts." "Seeing that by thee we enjoy much peace, and that by thy providence evils are corrected for this nation, we accept it in all ways and in all places, most excellent Felix, with all thankfulness. But that I be not further tedious unto thee, I entreat thee to hear us of thy clemency a few words."

The anacoluthon in the next line suggests that "Luke cruelly reports the orator verbatim."[1] However this be, we may be sure that if the Roman governor heard such words without a sneer, at least they were not written without a smile.

VII. Paul's Rejoinder to the Chief Captain

Even in his narrative of Paul's scourging at Jerusalem (Acts xxii. 24-29) Luke writes in a vein of scarcely concealed humour.

The pompous chief captain, proud of his imperial status, declares, "With a great sum obtained I this citizenship," to which the Apostle quietly replies, "But I am a Roman born." No wonder a silence ensued. The captain had met more than his match. It is "appearance seeking to triumph over reality."[2]

VIII. Paul's Preaching at Rome

And in the last report of Paul's preaching (Acts xxviii. 22) the Jews at Rome are represented as saying in effect, "We know nothing officially against you, but your friends are not to our liking"—a touch of which the humour is heightened by the remark that after Paul's defence "some believed

[1] Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, i. 224-5.
[2] Bergson, *Laughter* (Eng. Tr.), p. 55.

the things which were spoken, and some disbelieved" (xxviii. 23).

IX. Humour of Luke's Contrasts

The more the words of Luke are pondered, the clearer becomes the evidence for his possession of a singularly bright spirit. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous. The medley of great things and little, of things mundane and things celestial, of things low and things awful, is plainly shown in the juxtaposition of a parable of the Kingdom with foolish pleas of guests invited to a feast, of the Lord's Prayer with the unwelcome Friend at Midnight, of the thrilling scene at Ephesus and the part played by an ignorant mob, of the lofty address of Paul at Athens and the contemptible newsmongering of the citizens. It is in such contrasts that humour and satire have their place, pointing out an intense, unspeakable incongruity.

X. Luke's Irony

Luke alone frames in a spirit of irony the narrative of the surrender of Pilate to the clamour of the mob who sought Christ's life (xxiii. 25): "And he released him that for insurrection and murder had been cast into prison, whom they had asked for, but Jesus he delivered up to their will." What more scathing word-picture could be imagined of the partisanship of a passionate mob, or of a parody of justice on the part of a puerile governor?

The singular saying of Jesus reported only by Luke (xxii. 36), "He that hath none, let him sell his cloke and buy a sword," misunderstood by his disciples, is interpreted by Dr. Burkitt [1] as "a piece of ironical foreboding showing that there was in

[1] *Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 141.

our Lord a vein of playfulness." In its context it is in marked contrast with what precedes. It is to the third Evangelist we owe the most effective presentation of Christ's delicate irony and humour.

XI. Humour in Acts belongs to second Part

It is worthy of note, also, that, without exception, all the illustrations of humour found in Acts belong to the second part of the book, that is, to that portion of his work where Luke is writing with greatest freedom, and is not, as in Acts i.–xv. 35, translating and editing Aramaic sources.

XII. Humour and Nationality

In one way, Luke's humour helps us to know his nationality. "The comic," as Mr. Chapman remarks,[1] "is something outside of the Jewish dispensation. One would conclude from their records that the Jews were people who never laughed except ironically. To be sure, Michal laughed at David's dancing, and Sara laughed at the idea of having a child, and various people laughed others to scorn. But nobody seems to have laughed heartily and innocently. One gets the impression of a race devoid of humour. This is partly because it is not the province of religious writings to record humour, but it is mainly because Jewish thought condemns humour." "Where the Bible triumphs utterly, as in Dante and Calvin, there is no humour." Such a judgement is too sweeping. *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a religious writing reflecting in detail Bunyan's profound interest in Scripture, but it is far from wanting in humour. Hence he can make this appeal to the reader in his Apology :

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, viii. 870-871.

This Book is writ in such a Dialect
As may the minds of listless men affect:
It seems a novelty, and yet contains
Nothing but sound and honest Gospel strains.
Would'st thou divert thyself from Melancholy?
Would'st thou be pleasant, yet be far from folly?

Would'st thou be in a Dream, and yet not sleep?
Or would'st thou in a moment laugh and weep?
O then come hither,
And lay my Book, thy Head and Heart together.

Of Biblical writers, Luke is the one who might have written words like these.

Mr. Chapman apparently has taken a part for the whole, and neglected the Gentile elements in the New Testament.

"The humour of the Old Testament," says Robertson Smith,[1] "is always grim and caustic, as we see in the life of Samson; in the answer of the Danites to Micah; in the parable of Jehoash; or in the merciless ridicule with which the book of Isaiah covers the idolaters."

But even Semites were fond of playing upon words and the simpler forms of verbal wit. The real reason for the comparative lack of humour amongst the Hebrews is that they were wanting in that peculiar sympathy which distinguished the author of the third gospel and of Acts. So far as the spiritual man was concerned, they displayed sympathetic insight, but with the natural man sympathy was almost absent. It is therefore very much the case that "wherever humour arises in a Christian civilisation, it is a local race-element, an unsubdued bit of something foreign to Judah."[2]

Luke was a native of Antioch in Syria, and a Greek in sentiment and sympathies. And as "the character and spiritual history of a man who is endowed

[1] *Lectures and Essays*, p. 446. [2] Chapman, *ut supra*.

with a capacity for humorous appreciation of the world must differ throughout and in every particular from that of the man whose moral nature has never rippled over with genial laughter,"[1] so Luke's mind and art are distinguished from those of the men with whom in life and in letters he is most closely associated. Happily his varied career afforded him opportunities of displaying his natural love of the joyous, and in his two great works he exhibits himself not only as a gifted, and within certain limits as an accurate author, but also, alone in the New Testament, as a Humorist.

[1] Dowden, *Shakspere: His Mind and Art*, p. 337.

CHAPTER VI

LUKE THE LETTER-WRITER

I. Introduction

Two letters are found in the Acts of the Apostles, one (xv. 23 f.) purporting to be sent by Paul and the elders of Jerusalem to the Gentile Church at Antioch; the other (xxiii. 26 ff.) by Claudius Lysias, a Roman captain, to Felix the Governor. The first is a public epistle by a number of Christian officials, the second a private letter from a subordinate officer to his superior. Even if the latter be understood as in the nature of an "elogium" or statement of a case to be submitted to a higher tribunal, its reference remains strictly limited. In their general form the two letters are almost, though not quite, the same. The difference is creditable to Luke the letter-writer. Both open in the same way, "The Apostles and the elder brethren unto the brethren, greeting." "Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix, greeting." The Jewish letter ends with the words Ἔρρωσθε, and, by a few MSS. ἔρρωσο is read at the close of the Roman note. The evidence of the Papyri is against the originality of ἔρρωσο. We have recovered from the sands of Egypt[1] "official, legal, and business formulae in large numbers, including, for example, reports from one magistrate to another,

[1] Kenyon, *Dict. of the Bible*, iv. 356 (a).

similar to that sent by Claudius Lysias to Felix." "The doubtful word of salutation in verse 30, which is condemned by the best MSS., is decisively condemned by Egyptian usage, which admitted the use of this phrase only in letters addressed to an inferior."

Of course illiterate scribes did not observe with any exactness the use of such formulae, as we see from the occurrence of ἔρρωσο in a wife's pathetic letter to her husband appealing for help,[1] and in a boy's impertinent note to his father demanding to be taken on a trip to Alexandria.[2]

The Apostles at Jerusalem, however, speaking as it were *ex cathedra*, though they sent fraternal greetings to the Gentile Christians of Antioch, could not, as Luke's experience may have taught him, have been entirely oblivious of their own superior status in the Church.

Not even in the short friendly communication addressed to Philemon does Paul make use of these two formulae, customarily employed by letter-writers of the period. In the New Testament only the letter of James has the opening phrase, and no other letter concludes with the word in question.

Another formula with which in ancient letters a wish, or the object of the note, was introduced, was καλῶς ποιήσεις with the aorist participle. The same idiom has been recognised in the concluding words of the Apostolic letter ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε[3] (xv. 29).

We may properly assume that Luke's preference for classical forms and his acquaintance with the current etiquette of epistolary literature are displayed in his use of these formulae.

[1] *P. Brit. Mus.* 168 B.C. [2] *P. Oxy.* A.D. II–III.

[3] Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, i. 229; Robertson, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 1121; Wendland, *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 342.

The contents of the letters in Acts are singularly unlike, namely, a matter of church discipline, and the affair of a man who had made himself objectionable to the Jews of Jerusalem.

If it were possible to accept without reservation Deissmann's distinction between an epistle and a letter, the collective note, as in some respects an authoritative and formal document, might be counted amongst epistles, and the personal report of Lysias, which bears some resemblance to the brief note sent by Paul to Philemon, might be reckoned a letter. But the distinction in question is a fluid one, and the two letters in Acts are not essentially different in character, both being of the nature of official correspondence, and neither being properly defined as "personal conversation," "a fragment of human naïveté." [1]

II. Originals of Letters in Acts

The originals of the letters have not survived, and, so far as we know, no copies not embodied in MSS. of the New Testament. Possibly the Christian document was kept amongst the records of the Church at Antioch, and if, as early tradition relates,[2] Luke was a native of that city, he may have been acquainted with it. "It may be said with apparent reasonableness," writes Professor Lake,[3] "that it is far more probable that St. Luke was in a position to give the actual words of a document than a speech. It is not impossible that St. Luke had merely heard that there had been such a document and in the usual manner of historians of his day, gave a reconstruction of it when modern writers would have been content with a description; but it is also quite

[1] Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 4, 6.
[2] Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 4.
[3] *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1911, p. 353.

possible that he may have seen a copy of it." The other letter is less likely to have passed, directly or indirectly, from the hands of Felix the Governor into those of Luke the Physician. The hypothesis that it was written in Latin and preserved in the Roman archives is precarious. The letter does not read like a translation, and there is no reason to suppose the Evangelist had access to the imperial records. His acquaintance with the contents of the letter is probably due to Paul, or to Paul's sister's son, who had informed Claudius Lysias of the plot against the Apostle. The theory that we have in Acts two original letters breaks completely down before the evidence of style and vocabulary. A detailed examination of Lucan words and phrases in the letter of the Elders is given by Harnack.[1] In the case of the second letter it is shown below.[2] It is plain that in both we must recognise the hand of Luke.

Yet, according to Professor Torrey,[3] one is a translation from an Aramaic original, the other a free composition by Luke.

In his analysis of Luke's source, however, for good reasons, no proofs of Semitisms are taken from the Apostolic epistle. The suggested emendation by Professor G. F. Moore of xv. 28, *πλὴν τούτων · ἐπάναγκες ἀπέχεσθαι* (the *τῶν* between *τούτων* and *ἐπάναγκες* in the MSS. being due to dittography), may be accepted without supposing that the last two words go back to the Aramaic phrase which is given. *Ἐπάναγκες* is found here alone in the New Testament. The adverb belongs to the literary language, but its substantival use is unclassical. Preuschen[4] notes that Clement of Alexandria appears to have used

[1] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 219-23.
[2] Excursus, p. 173.
[3] *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 39.
[4] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, S. 97.

the words ἐπάναγκες ἀπέχεσθαι without τῶν. More important than the evidence of Lucan authorship is the proof that both letters are essentially historical. Of the letter by Lysias Luke only claims to give the "form" or "tenor," τύπος (cp. 2 Macc. xi. 16, 3 Macc. iii. 30). The action of Lysias, as we should expect, is favourably represented in his note. The chief captain even suggests that knowledge of Paul's Roman citizenship prompted his rescue of him from the Jews, whereas Luke tells us that fact transpired later. From the same motive, the order to scourge the prisoner is not mentioned, nor the misconception under which he had first arrested him. Apparently, the information at Luke's disposal was almost first-hand, and ultimately dependent upon Lysias himself. The disposition and intention of the chief captain were doubtless exhibited in his private interview with the nephew of Paul.

III. Apostolic Letter and Letters in 1 Maccabees compared

The earlier letter, addressed to the Antiochian Church, may be compared in respect of historicity with certain of the letters contained in 1 Maccabees—a work originally written in Hebrew, and highly esteemed for its general trustworthiness. Of the thirteen letters in the book, four are regarded by Mr. Fairweather as attempts "on the part of the writer or his authority to give a free version of the lost originals."[1] In the opinion of Dr. Oesterley,[2] one is a copy of an original; one represents the purport of a letter known to the author; two give contents but are not verbatim copies of originals; one summarises what the original letter contained;

[1] *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 189.
[2] *Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphy of O.T.* i. 61 ff.

and two are based upon the originals. Kautzsch[1] ascribes six letters to the main author of the book. These are not translations of original documents, but represent what the writer conjectures from the state of affairs must have been contained in such originals. Probably it would be safe to conclude that the author of 1 Maccabees, translating a Semitic source, interpolated the letters in question at fitting points in his narrative, since he possessed some information respecting the original documents.

Similarly, Luke, translating in Acts xv. an Aramaic source, wherein James was reported to have given his judgement that he and his colleagues should write unto the Gentiles *τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων κ.τ.λ.*, has added an epistle of his own composition based on trustworthy information, or even upon personal knowledge of the original letter, in order to fill up a seeming lacuna in his source, and thus properly round off the narrative in Acts i.

IV. Historicity of Letter depends on Text

But the historicity of the letter ultimately depends upon the text read. It is hardly too much to say that the ordinary text presents a narrative which is inexplicable as the composition of a comrade of the great Apostle. "The Apostolic Decree, if it contained a general declaration against eating sacrifices offered to idols, against partaking of blood or things strangled, and against fornication, is inconsistent with the account given by St. Paul in Gal. ii. 1-10, and with the corresponding passages in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. It is accordingly unhistorical."[2]

Several scholars hold that if historical, "it cannot

[1] *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A.T.* Bd. i. S. 28.

[2] Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 249.

have formed part of the agreement with Paul, and just as little can it have originated earlier." "Therefore it is to be assigned to the next period." [1]

Dr. Sanday surmounts, or evades, the difficulty presented by the "Neutral" text by the suggestion that Paul makes no mention of the compromise effected at Jerusalem because it was a failure from the first. In that case, it is difficult to see why Luke, writing later than the Apostle, did not let the "dead letter" drop into oblivion instead of attaching to it so much importance as he obviously does.

John Weiss [2] solves the problem in his own way by supposing that the author of Acts (not to be identified with Luke the companion of Paul), in working over two accounts of two different matters, has simply confused them. At the first meeting in Jerusalem (xv. 1-4, 12) the food law was not in question, at the second (xv. 5-11, 13-33) Paul was not present. The Apostle was not concerned at all with the Jerusalem letter because he knew nothing of it.

There is one way out of the difficulty which neither requires the rejection of the Lucan authorship of Acts, nor casts serious doubts upon the credibility of the narrative as it stands. The interpretation that the Decree covers moral precepts, which the "Western" text favours by the omission of πνικτόν makes the document trustworthy. Ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων (εἰδωλοθύτων) καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ αἵματος is an "abstract of an ethical catechism." [3] The discussion of Harnack is in the nature of a recantation. A scholar, who commonly treats the "Western" text with scant respect, pays tribute here to the accuracy of its tradition. Professor Lake [4] on textual and

[1] Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age* (Eng. Tr.), p. 214.
[2] *Das Urchristentum*, S. 195, 236.
[3] Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 259.
[4] *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1911, pp. 353 ff.

historical grounds also argues strongly for the omission of πνικτόν. He does not, however, accept the "Western" addition of the negative form of the golden rule at the close of the letter. He thinks that Tertullian alone, who omits both πνικτόν and the rule, represents the primitive reading. The three clauses of Tertullian's text being ambiguous, some scribes explained them as moral injunctions by the addition of the golden rule, others as a food law by the addition of πνικτόν. That ethical decrees are "most consistent with the subsequent course of events, are implied by Paul's epistles, and more likely to have been the decision of the Council" is maintained by irrefragable evidence. Professor Lake also shows that "there is no evidence that the circles which can be shown to have originated a text which omitted 'things strangled' had any objection to a food law." He therefore accepts the "Western" text of the Decree minus the golden rule and the reference to the Holy Spirit before the final greeting, the latter being "an interpolation earlier than Tertullian and has nothing to do with the addition of the golden rule." "In common with the majority of modern critics," he rejects the "rule" "partly because it introduces a very harsh parenthesis or change of thought, but chiefly because if the golden rule had been in the text from the beginning, the interpretation of the decrees as a food law would have been impossible." Substantially, this is the position of Harnack. The interpolation of πνικτόν transformed the Decree, and this "could scarcely have been carried out"[1] if the words in question had been original. Hence he regards these as "probably, not certainly an ancient interpolation to fix the character of the Decree as a summary of moral precepts."[2] Such reasoning is weighty, but

[1] Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 260.
[2] *Ibid.*

not absolutely conclusive. It would be strange if Tertullian were the sole authority for the correct reading of so important a letter. A sentence may have been dropped not deliberately to change the meaning of the passage, but simply for the purpose of elucidation. The negative form of the golden rule may have seemed suspicious and out of harmony with what preceded understood as a food law by the scribe who interpolated πνικτόν. Besides, there are other considerations.

A slightly different version of the negative rule appears in *The Two Ways*. *The Two Ways* may be, as Dobschütz and others suppose, "originally a Jewish catechism" adapted for Christian uses. Mr. Abrahams [1] allows the inference is a probable one, though there is no such prototype extant in Jewish literature. What is certain is that, as a separate work, *The Two Ways* circulated with a text not quite settled amongst Jewish Christians.

In the B recension of Tobit iv. 25, the Rule is thus expressed, καὶ ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς. In an almost identical form it is attributed to Cleobulus, one of the seven sages of Greece. Dr. Bartlet [2] suspects this form was "a maxim already current among those the Jews wished to convert," and adds, "this assumption would account for its interpolation in the 'Western' text of Acts xv. 20-29 in a somewhat different form." But its use by Hillel and its currency among the Jews is well known, whether it came in the first place from the Greeks or not, and the interpolation in the "Western" text from pagan sources is not the only alternative. There are many indications, as Professor Ramsay has proved, of an excellent Palestinian tradition in the "Western" text.

"The wording in *The Two Ways*, ὅσα ἐὰν

[1] Odgers, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 11.
[2] *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. 444, note.

θελήσῃς instead of *ὃ μισεῖς* (Tobit iv. 16), seems due," says Professor Lake,[1] "to the influence of the evangelical form of the saying. If the saying be part of the true text of Acts, it would here not unnaturally be attributed to the use of Acts. If it be regarded as a gloss in Acts, the Didache may have originated such a gloss." There is another possibility. If *The Two Ways* was originally a Jewish catechism, its negative form of the Golden Rule may have given rise to the clause in the Apostolic decree reported by Luke. James and the Elders in Jerusalem, from what we know of them, would naturally be influenced in their statement of "an ethical catechism" for Christian churches by one current in Jewish circles, which was so acceptable to Christians that later it was even adapted for their use.

Possibly, as Mr. Abrahams thinks,[2] the negative form of the Golden Rule "underlies Romans xiii. 10, *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται.*"

Doubtless the fact that Hillel had summed up the whole law in a saying resembling that in *The Two Ways* would have its effect upon the Jewish leaders of the Jerusalem Church. A formula approved by an eminent Rabbi must have seemed to them an excellent conclusion for a letter addressed to the Gentile church at Antioch!

That a connection exists between the Apostolic Decree and *The Two Ways*, Harnack admits. "The combination of the three elements of the Decree is formal, depending upon the Decalogue and *The Two Ways*." The use of *γίνεσθαι* in the "Western" text of the Decree and in *The Two Ways*, but not in the familiar form in Matthew or

[1] *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 26; also *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 27.

[2] *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, p. 21.

Luke points to a relation between the two former. The circumstances which led to the letter and the character of its authors support the theory that the "Western" text is historically reliable in the inclusion of these words as well as in the omission of πνικτόν.

V. Clemen's Objection to Moral Interpretation of Decree

The strongest objection which Professor Clemen adduces [1] to the moral interpretation of the Decree is "that it was superfluous to claim from Christians abstention from idolatry and murder." Yet in this regard Pauline converts must be distinguished from Palestinian Christians. Luke's portrait of the Lystrans may stand for the rest of the people of Asia Minor. The "weak and beggarly elements" of which Paul spoke contemptuously in his letter to the Galatians derived their strength, as the Apostle knew, from their resemblance to ancient Phrygian rites. The permanence of the ancient pagan faith is one of its most striking characteristics. The earliest Anatolian beliefs, animistic and crude, were taken over and shaped by the conquering Phrygians. Greece conquered Asia Minor, but only to be led captive by the conquered. Cybele even extended her sway until it reached Athens and Rome—the great centres of culture and empire. There was a real danger lest judaising Christians in Asia Minor should relapse into paganism. In many cities, Jews had surrendered much of their proud isolation; they had married pagans and evolved a semi-pagan philosophy. In words quoted by Professor Ramsay, "the baths and wines of Phrygia had divided the ten tribes from their brethren." The worship of angels at Colossae appeared to Paul

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, viii. 795-6.

as a survival of an ancient rite, dangerous in itself, and still more for what it implied amongst Phrygians.

Murder might indeed seem impossible in a convert to Christianity, but such is not the verdict of history. The first Christian emperor was a murderer. In any ethical code drawn up by Jewish Christians, the command against murder would certainly be echoed.[1] Lest this should assume too low a view of the character of Pauline converts, what follows in the "Western" text corrects the impression. In other words, the sentence which Harnack and Lake reject meets a possible judgement upon their interpretation of the letter. Thus understood, there is "no harsh parenthesis or change of thought," but a Rule which forms a natural climax to the "ethical code."

It is some confirmation of the negative precept in what has been described as "perhaps the oldest reading extant of those which are called Western"[2] that it must have been in the text of the Acts used by Aristides who is said to have presented his Apology to the Emperor Hadrian (117–138).

Assuming now, that the Elders wrote very much what is familiar to us in *The Two Ways*, we can see how Luke edited the fragment in characteristic fashion, so that *πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς* (or *θέλητε*) *μὴ γενέσθαι σοι* (or *ὑμῖν*) *καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει* became *καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι ἑτέροις* (*ἑτέρῳ*) *μὴ ποιεῖτε*. *πάντα* is omitted, as in Luke vi. 31, cp. Matt. vii. 12. The omission of pleonastic pronouns like *σύ* is Lucan (cp. omission of *ὑμεῖς*, Luke vi. 31). The use of *ἕτερος* is Lucan, it is not found in Mark, and only nine times in Matthew as against thirty-three times in Luke's gospel. Luke uses *ἐάν* with subjunctive joined with relative or conjunctive less than Matthew or Mark. In Acts it occurs only ten times as against fifty-five in Matthew. *Ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς*

[1] Cp. 1 Peter iv. 15; 1 John iii. 15; Rev. xxii. 15.
[2] Harris, *Lectures on the Western Text*, p. 31.

is changed into ὅσα—θέλετε. The transposition of μή from the infinitive to the indicative increases the force of the language. If the Golden Rule be admitted into the text of the Apostolic Decree, the "Ethical catechism" is complete. The Elders, as they thought, left no loophole of escape for the Christians of Antioch and Syria, by the addition after enumerating certain special prohibitions, of a general moral maxim.

The "Western" text also adds, as we have noted, the words φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. These seem to be "one of the edifying remarks which the early scribes loved and sometimes allowed into the text."

Dr. Rendel Harris in his study of Codex Bezae attributed them to Montanist influences, but afterwards [1] regarded them as a gloss on verse 30, which had been misplaced.

Stylistic considerations pronounce against the insertion at this point, when the letter closes so admirably with the words εὖ πράξετε followed immediately by the greeting Ἔρρωσθε.

The letters of Luke, in their original form, display his gifts as a correspondent, and the historicity of his traditions; whilst they shed light upon the subtle character of a Roman captain, and the Jewish proclivities of the Jerusalem Elders.

EXCURSUS

Lucan words and phrases in the letter of Claudius Lysias (Acts xxiii. 26 ff.) :—

Words and phrases characteristic of Luke (see Hawkins *Horae Synopticae*, p. 13 ff.) : ἀνήρ (2), συλλαμβάνω, τε, πέμπω, πρός (used of speaking to).

Words and phrases once in Luke, never in Matthew or

[1] *Lectures on the Western Text*, pp. 77, 78.

Mark, and seven times in Acts (Hawkins, p. 144): *κατάγω*.

Words and phrases never occurring in Luke, but frequently in Acts (Hawkins, p. 144): *ἐπίσταμαι*.

Words and phrases rarely occurring in Luke, but frequently in Acts (Hawkins, p. 145): *ἡγεμών*.

Words and phrases found only in the "we" sections and the rest of Acts (Hawkins, p. 151): *ἐπιβουλή*.

Words characteristic of the second part of Acts (Hawkins, p. 147): *ἐγκαλέω*, *ἔγκλημα*.

Words found in Luke and Acts, but peculiar to them (Hawkins, p. 203): *κράτιστος*.

Words and phrases which are found only two or three times in Luke's gospel, but which (*a*) occur at least six times in Luke and Acts together, while not occurring at all in Matthew or Mark, or else (*b*) occur in Luke and Acts taken together at least four times as often as in Matthew and Mark together:

ἀναιρέω, Matt. 1, Luke 2, Acts 19, Paul 1, rest of New Testament, 1.

μηνύειν, occurs in Luke 1, Acts 1, elsewhere only John 1, Paul 1.

κατήγορος occurs only in Acts 5 and Apoc. 1.

CHAPTER VII

LUKE THE REPORTER

I. Common Features of Speeches in Acts

The speeches in the book of Acts constitute so large a part of the whole as to call for the closest investigation. But even a superficial glance reveals one or two characteristics. They are couched in the language and phraseology of Luke, and cannot claim to be, in our sense of the expression, *verbatim reports*. There is no evidence that Luke was acquainted with any system of shorthand, though his contemporary Seneca, who greatly improved the system practised by Tiro the freedman of Cicero, attributes the invention and cultivation of this species of writing to freed men and slaves—that is, to a class to which Luke may have belonged. And an Oxyrhynchus Papyrus [1] (A.D. 155) relates how a man apprenticed his slave to a shorthand writer (σημιογράφῳ) for two years to be taught to read and write shorthand.

But it is impossible that Luke should have been present when all these discourses were spoken, nor is such a suggestion anywhere made by him. We do not need to imagine Luke as Paul's "fidus Achates, note-book in hand, ready on the spot to take down the very words he said," [2] like another

[1] *Oxyr. Pap.* ed. Grenfell-Hunt, iv. 204 f. (No. 724).
[2] Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 200.

Boswell hanging on the lips of his hero Johnson. And even in the case of the great English biographer, as he was ignorant of shorthand, the utmost his notes convey "is the substance of what took place, in an exceedingly condensed shape, lighted up at intervals by the *ipsissima verba* of the speaker." [1]

II. Old Testament Quotations in Speeches from LXX

It is highly significant that Old Testament quotations in the speeches of Acts are all from the Greek version, and especially so that in his address to the Jerusalem Council James' quotation presents a curious combination of "looseness with close adherence to the LXX, even where it is furthest from the Hebrew." [2]

It is this speech which Dr. Bacon [3] adduces in his criticism of Professor Torrey's early date (A.D. 50) for the Aramaic source of the first half of Acts. "However convinced we may be that chapters i.-xv. come directly from the Aramaic, they have, nevertheless, as their ultimate background a Greek source. The speech of James (xv. 13-21), the very climax of the Aramaic document, is founded on an argument (Amos ix. 11-12) found only in the LXX."

Dr. Bacon's inference is not self-evident. Luke clearly adapted the words of the Biblical quotations in his sources to the Greek text current amongst those for whom he wrote, much as an English or American scholar, translating a German work containing quotations from the Bible in the original tongues or in the Lutheran version, usually adapts the scriptural passages to one of the two current English versions. In the case in point Luke may

[1] *Autobiography, etc., of Mrs. Piozzi*, ed. A. Hayward, i. 137.
[2] Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 399.
[3] *American Journal of Theology*, January 1918.

have even added the quotation in order to complete the reference to "the prophets" (xv. 15) in the same way and for the same reason as he composed the letter of the Jerusalem Council.[1] In the original source probably no quotation was given, and *οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν* may allude generally to such passages as Zech. xiv. 9, Isaiah xlii. 1, xlv. 22.

III. Similarity of Petrine and Pauline Speeches

Another feature of the speeches is commonly deemed to be fatal so far as their historicity is concerned. A certain unmistakable similarity of substance in the various discourses of Peter and Paul has led critics to reject them altogether as inconsistent with Paul's own statements in his letters.

But, on the one hand, the doctrine of the Petrine speeches in Acts i. is not of Luke's invention. It belongs to a date and to a writer earlier than the author of Acts, and the recognition of Luke's work as a translator increases the claim to credibility of the speeches in question.

On the other hand, as Harnack points out, Paul was more of a Jew, even upon the evidence of his own epistles, than critics have been wont to admit. The Apostle wrote other letters besides that to the Galatians, and logic and consistency are not the most marked features of his teaching respecting the Law and the Gospel. "Paul had abolished the Law *sub specie finis et aeterni*, but like Lot's wife, he still looked backwards, and suffered it to remain as the customary code for Jews."[2]

The speeches, then, are not fictitious inventions. In fact they contain many individual traits. The

[1] See "Luke the Letter-Writer," p. 166.

[2] *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 62.

doctrine of Peter is not identical with that of Paul, and with a fine sense of distinction, the speech of James is made to differ from that of Peter. "Judging simply from the epistles," says Harnack,[1] "we may well believe that the apostle would have spoken to receptive Jews, in substance at least, just as he speaks in the Acts at Antioch, and to Gentiles as he speaks at Athens, and that he would have exhorted his own converts just as he does at Miletus."

IV. Wendland's Criticism of Speeches

Wendland[2] is otherwise impressed by the speeches. He is of opinion that "often they do not suit the situation at all" and are used by the author of Acts "as a means of expressing his own religious views."

This theory is vitally affected by the evidence, already examined, that in Acts i.–xv. 35 Luke, in the main, is translating from Aramaic sources. Doubtless the translation and redaction of the speeches betray occasionally signs of a subjective interest on the part of Luke. But the religious views of the unknown author (or authors) of his sources cannot be simply identified with those of the Gentile historian himself.

The case is different with the speeches in Acts ii. Here, probably, as in Paul's speech to the Jerusalem crowd (xxi. 40–xxii. 22), the report is coloured by Luke's own preconceptions, though, at bottom, the utterance is based upon knowledge derived by the reporter in his personal intercourse with the Apostle. It is also not unnatural to suppose that Luke, reporting the views of various representative leaders of the early Church, like Samuel Johnson writing the lives of his contemporaries, felt himself "walking upon ashes under which the fire was not

[1] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), p. 138.
[2] *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 265.

extinguished" and deemed it "proper rather to say nothing that was false than all that was true."

Wendland's further criticism that the apologetic discourses of Peter and Paul frequently miss the point of the objection they were intended to meet, because of the lack of psychological insight in the author of Acts, again affects Luke only in respect of the speeches in the second part of the book. Here a distinction can surely be observed. The objection, as is shown below, cannot justly be urged against the speech of Paul to the elders of Ephesus at Miletus when Luke was present. As for other speeches (*e.g.* Paul's speech before Festus and Agrippa, xxvi. 1 ff., or on the Areopagus, xvii. 22 ff.), it can hardly be denied that Luke's inventive faculty must have been restrained by the traditions and oral information he possessed.

In the days before reporters were admitted to the Houses of Parliament, Samuel Johnson wrote the Parliamentary Debates for the *Gentleman's Magazine.* The names of the speakers were fictitious, and, towards the end of his days, Johnson felt some compunction in regard to this early exercise of his pen. But though whilst engaged in it he confessed to taking care "that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it" his imaginative faculty did not run riot. It was kept within reasonable limits by the scanty notes of speeches supplied to him by various hearers. There must, indeed, have been considerable fidelity to truth in his report of a famous oration of Chatham, which elicited praise in his presence on the occasion when he startled the eulogists by quietly observing, "That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street."

Luke, without the acknowledged prejudice of the English lexicographer, would, perforce, frequently do injustice to his orators, but Wendland's argument may be turned against him. Had the speeches in

Acts been completely satisfactory answers to the indictments of Paul by his opponents, they might, with more reason, have been condemned as plainly fictitious from the very character of their composition.

No doubt the missionary speeches of Paul are framed so as to fall in with Luke's plan in Acts as a whole, and by their help he seeks to prove "that Paul is not guilty of the breach between the new religion and Judaism."[1]

V. Author of Acts a Companion of Paul

But, as Harnack observes, "If stress is laid upon the difficulties involved in the hypothesis that Luke wrote as a personal acquaintance of Paul, and even during the lifetime of the Apostle—but not under his eyes—it is only necessary to point, in the first place, to the *memorabilia* concerning great men of antiquity, which were confessedly written by their disciples or acquaintances. Does any one deny that Xenophon was personally acquainted with Socrates because his *Memorabilia* is such a defective work and betrays so little of the spirit of the great thinker? Or does any one deny such acquaintance to Plato because he has drawn the portrait with such freedom in his dialogues?"[2] The Acts of the Apostles was not intended to be a biographical study, nor was its author inspired by the spirit of the first editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, who "refused mercy to contributors who offered him vague conjecture or sentimental eulogy instead of unembroidered fact."[3]

[1] Harnack, *Die Rede des Paulus. Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxix. 1.

[2] Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 292-3, n. 1.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Leslie Stephen."

VI. Luke's careful Use of Terms in Speeches

Excellent examples of Luke's accuracy as a reporter, using the term in the wider sense, may be seen in his use of the words *συνείδησις*, *κύριος*, and *ἡ θεά*.

In the New Testament *συνείδησις* occurs thirty-one times; twenty-one in Paul, and not at all in the gospels. Like *νοῦς* the word is distinctly Pauline, taken over by the Apostle from Greek, probably from the vocabulary of the Stoic philosophy. It is noteworthy that Luke, Greek as he was, uses the word in two speeches of Paul (xxiii. 1, xxiv. 6), and nowhere else.

In Acts xxv. 26, Festus, addressing King Agrippa, says that he has "no certain thing to write unto my lord," (*τῷ κυρίῳ*). It used to be assumed that[1] "the Roman emperors were first named 'lord' or 'our lord' from Domitian onwards, *i.e.* not until after Paul's time." But, "in the East, as the records now show, the title was bestowed on the Emperors much earlier." "For Nero, 'the lord' in the time of Festus, the number of examples of the use of the word suddenly rushes up tremendously."

Ἡ *θεά* and *ἡ θεός* in Acts xix. 27, 37 seem, at first sight, to be a purposeless variation. In reality the words fall quite appropriately from the lips of the speakers. Dr. Moulton[2] quotes Thieme to the effect that "the classical *ἡ θεός* often appears in Magnesian inscriptions to describe the great goddess of the city, while other people's goddesses were *θεαί*, the usual *κοινή* term." It is the excited and illiterate silversmith who uses the *κοινή* expression (verse 27), and the staid *γραμματεύς* who, in his

[1] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Eng. Tr.), p. 358.
[2] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 244.

appeal for order (verse 37) makes use of the correct technical term, which, of itself, indicates the commanding position of Artemis at Ephesus.

VII. Paul's Speech at Athens

One speech in Acts, that of Paul at Athens (xvii. 22-31), has been the object of peculiar suspicion. Every detail in the address has been examined by Norden [1] in the light of the religious movement of the age and of the literature of antiquity. In the main, his conclusions have been accepted by John Weiss and other scholars in Germany and by Menzies and Edie in England. Briefly, the theory is that the speech is the work of a later redactor, and is based upon traditions relating to a speech in Athens by Apollonius of Tyana. Harnack [2] has subjected the theory to a searching criticism. He holds Luke responsible for the words and ideas put into the mouth of Paul, the material in the address and the modes of expression employed being current not merely in the second century but also in the first. The description of Athens (xvii. 16-22, 32-34) is shown to be thoroughly Lucan in language, the few hapax-legomena being due to the peculiarities of a situation without parallel in Luke's writings. The λέξεις Ἀττικαί which Norden believes the redactor owes to a literary model—Harnack thinks Luke—the author of the preface to the third gospel, may have borrowed for himself. Professor Torrey [3] expresses it rather differently. He "cannot help feeling that the widely experienced and accomplished author of Acts may himself have been familiar with λέξεις Ἀττικαί"

[1] *Agnostos Theos.*

[2] *Die Rede des Paulus in Athen. Texte und Untersuchungen,* xxxix. 1.

[3] *Composition and Date of Acts,* p. 53.

—σπερμολόγος, λέγειν ἢ ἀκούειν, καινότερον. "There is a very obvious reason why he should have employed these locutions where we find them, and an equally obvious reason why he would *not* have employed Atticisms in the rest of his history; it would have been an absurd affectation, since they did not belong to the literary language which he, and Theophilus, and their circles, were accustomed to use."

Harnack argues for the originality of the speech on the following grounds: (1) It contains such an account of preaching to the heathen as Luke's plan in Acts demands. (2) It contains nothing that the author of Acts could not have written, and in every detail is of a piece with the rest of the book. After investigating the evidence on the crucial question of the indebtedness of the address to the Apollonius traditions he concludes: It cannot be proved (1) that Apollonius in his speech on sacrifices at Athens connected it with the altars to the unknown gods; (2) that he ever delivered a speech anywhere which was inspired by an altar inscription; (3) that he took any particular note of the Athenian altar to unknown gods; (4) or that Damis, his biographer, ever took such note, for the words in question may be from Philostratus (the author of the life of Apollonius) and date from the beginning of the third century.

Harnack then shows that the occasion and setting of the speeches of Paul and Apollonius at Athens were quite different, adding that even if a connection between the two were established, it is not thereby proved that the *autor ad Theophilum* could not have been the plagiarist, since the visit of Apollonius to Athens is generally allowed to have taken place in the reign of Claudius, and the writing of περὶ θυσιῶν must have followed quickly upon it.

The change from ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς, the words of

an actual altar inscription at Athens, to τῷ ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, Professor Torrey regards as "an orator's device, the purpose being to catch and hold the close attention of the audience." There is also the fact which Norden demonstrates that the singular, ἄγνωστος θεός, was also familiar at that time, though not (so far as we know) as an inscription on any altar." Though the theory of Norden cannot be regarded as established, he has certainly clearly displayed the affinities between the Pauline speech and contemporary thought. But acquaintance with the current religio-philosophical ideals and terminology need not be denied to Luke the cultured Greek physician, nor yet to Paul the Roman citizen of Tarsus. The further objection that Paul's sentiments as reported by Luke are not in accord with the thought of his letters (*e.g.* Romans i. 18 ff.) is admitted by John Weiss.[1] But in view of the many-sided character of the Apostle, as revealed in the letters themselves (cp. Romans i. 18 ff.; Gal. iv. 8 f.), whilst attributing the composition of the address at Athens to Luke, he does not deem its teaching incompatible with the character and doctrine of the Apostle.

Another scholar [2] who entertains no very exalted opinion of the author of Acts confesses that "Paul's speech at Athens, if it be the composition of the author of Acts, has at least an extraordinary correspondence with the outline of his missionary preaching given by Paul himself in 1 Thess. i. 10. At least, it depends on real knowledge of his preaching."

Undoubtedly errors, contradictions, and omissions may be discovered in the speeches of Acts, and for these probably the sources of the historian are often responsible. "These materials were probably furnished in the main by oral tradition.

[1] *Das Urchristentum*, S. 183.
[2] Bacon, *The Story of St. Paul*, p. 311.

Preaching so continuous as we know that of Peter to have been, would leave definite reminiscences of its general type and tenor." [1] Some speeches merely "reflect Luke's historic sense of what was appropriate to the speaker and situation." [2] What has been said of the speeches in Thucydides is true of those in Acts. "The least historical have at any rate an air of historical possibility about them, in that in every case the speakers might be conceived to have said something of the kind on the particular occasion." [3] The apologetic interest, however, tends at times to dominate the historical, and we are made aware that Luke, like all the evangelists, wrote with a purpose.

VIII. Paul's Speech at Miletus

A single speech is unique in its verisimilitude. Paul's address at Miletus, to the Elders of Ephesus, is really reported, so far as that was possible, by his friend and fellow-traveller. The circumstances of the speech were peculiar. Paul, after three years' labour, had left Ephesus as the result of a riot stirred up by Demetrius, the silversmith, and others interested in the worship of the goddess Artemis. On the way to Jerusalem, he called at Miletus, whither he summoned the leaders of the Ephesian Church from whom he had parted some fifteen months before. The incidents of the Ephesian ministry were fresh in the minds of speaker and audience. Hence the opening words, "Ye yourselves know." Paul's fidelity and sincerity were well known to his friends, and he did not hesitate to appeal to their knowledge. Certain dramatic elements in the narrative point to the

[1] Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 306. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, p. 436.

presence of an eye-witness. Here, if anywhere, the words of the Apostle are preserved by his companion. The speech stands between two "we" passages, and apparently forms part of the Acts narrative which is written in the first person. "*We* came to Miletus," says Luke, and then after the farewell of Paul to the Ephesian Elders, he continues, "When it came to pass that *we* were parted from them, and had set sail, *we* came with a straight course to Cos." If language has any meaning, Luke plainly suggests that he was present at the meeting, which he narrates in such detail. The very elaboration of the incident is parallel with the manner in which the historian speaks of the voyage to Rome, wherein also he played a part. Furthermore, as Harnack observes,[1] "In spirit and in phraseology, no passage in Acts is more closely allied to the Pauline epistles than this speech."[2] "Think only of his boasting, his passionate assertion of his own personal disinterestedness, and the remarkable expression (xx. 28) *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.* This expression reminds us of Ephesians and Colossians; indeed, this whole discourse to the Ephesians calls to mind the epistles to the Thessalonians."

Some phrases are "exclusively Pauline as *πλὴν ὅτι, καὶ νῦν, ἰδού, δεσμὰ καὶ θλίψεις, νουθετεῖν* (only in Mark besides); others are characteristically Pauline and non-Lucan as *μὴ φείδεσθε, ταπεινοφροσύνη, ὑποστέλλεσθαι, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, τὸ συμφέρον.* Περιποιεῖσθαι is both Pauline and Lucan; it is used by them in different senses. In the speech it is used rightly in the Pauline and non-Lucan sense. Finally, Paul's words 'Ye yourselves know that these hands ministered to my own needs' receive confirmation from 1 Cor. iv. 12 ('we labour, working with our own

[1] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 219.
[2] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 138-9.

hands') for the latter epistle was written at Ephesus to Corinth." Dr. Gardner[1] therefore concludes "the concurrence of historical and philological criticism strongly favours the view that this speech is quite authentic."

Such a verdict is more clearly justified by the facts than the frigid observation of Wendland,[2] "The occasion is just as unsuitable as the speech itself, which is not a farewell speech at all but a general and sober apology of Paul *im Sinne des Autors.*"

We may surmise that the pathos of the situation would strongly impress Luke, whose tenderness and humanity are everywhere so conspicuous. The "*apologia pro vita sua*" which Paul delivered, the words of Christ which he quoted, and the farewell which he spoke would be easily reproduced by Luke when the occasion arose. Professor Burkitt is sceptical about the full notes which the diarist took at Miletus, but admits that the speech may have been expanded from notes taken at the time. This is all that would be possible, or requisite. Luke's interest and ability would do the rest. The result would be a report in which ideas and phrases of the Apostle would be preserved, whilst the formal element was supplied by the reporter. This is precisely what we find. In xx. 24, Paul speaks to the presbyters of Ephesus, and says that the office entrusted to him by the Lord Jesus is "to testify the gospel of the grace of God" (*διαμαρτύρασθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ*).

The feeling at the back of this is really Pauline. But it is not by chance that the word (*εὐαγγέλιον*) is used only in two speeches and not in Luke's own narrative. "We see here another instance of Luke's accuracy and fidelity in the Acts, which so often

[1] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 418.
[2] *Literaturformen*, S. 269.

strikes us, and is not absent even from the 'speeches.' He himself holds fast in this book also to his renunciation of the word 'gospel'; in the speeches of Peter and Paul, however, he does not change it, but keeps it—in Paul's speech characteristically defined and limited." [1]

Professor Bacon thinks the speech more Lucan than Pauline in tone and motive, and Harnack and others attribute the moving passages to the author of Acts. Possibly Luke may have unconsciously heightened the pathos of the parting, but as we see in his letters, Paul was capable of intense emotion. A single passage will show what is meant. "For out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be made sorry, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you" (2 Cor. ii. 4).

IX. Importance of Speech

The importance of the speech as a whole can scarcely be over-estimated. In it we see Paul the Man relating the trials of his lot, and displaying the tenderness of his feelings, we learn something of Paul the Teacher, and we are presented with a precious gem from the sayings of our Lord. The last demands of right first consideration. The earliest of the so-called Agrapha, it has an importance of its own. Professor Lake [2] compares it with two others in the epistles of Clement, and one in the letter of Polycarp, which have a similar opening. "Remembering the words of Jesus which he spake" (Clem., ep. ad Cor. 18, 1). "Remembering the words of Jesus our Lord, for he said" (Clem., ep.

[1] Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 288, 289.

[2] *Hibbert Journal*, vol. iii. p. 333.

ad Cor. 47, E). "Remembering what the Lord said" (Polycarp 2).

Following an earlier suggestion of Dr. Rendel Harris, he thinks that λόγια "Sayings" represents a definite collection known to these writers as also to Papias. A recension of this formed, he supposes, the Logia of Matthew, and one of the sources of our first gospel. Since Professor Lake maintains that the speeches are all Luke's compositions, he credits the third evangelist and not Paul with knowledge of these Sayings, and finds a reference to them in the preface to his gospel. Harnack, however, after an examination of the words of Clement and Polycarp thinks[1] "there is no sufficient basis of probability for the hypothesis that these λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ are identical with 'Q.'" The Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology[2] "incline to believe that we have in Clem. a citation from some written or unwritten form of 'Catechesis' as to our Lord's teaching, current in the Roman Church, perhaps a local form which may go back to a time before our gospels existed." There is a phrase in Clement parallel to the saying of Jesus in Acts, but we are not compelled to think, says the Committee,[3] that Clement has the passage in the Acts in his mind. They then conclude (1) St. Paul is quoting an otherwise unrecorded saying of our Lord's, which may have been known to Clement simply as a saying of our Lord current among Christian men. (2) It is possible that the phrase in Clement has no direct relation to any particular saying of our Lord, but represents a conception current among Christians.

The problem of the relation of this Saying to "Q" must remain unsolved. Neither Harnack nor Lake

[1] *The Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 192.
[2] *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 61.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 50.

carries us much beyond the "perhaps" of the learned Oxford Committee. But the ascription of the words to Paul and not to Luke by Dr. Harris, Harnack, and the Oxford Committee is strictly in accordance with the evidence. A comparison of the sayings of Jesus reported by Paul in his epistles with what appear to be the originals in the gospels proves that the Apostle quoted not from written sources but from oral tradition. Cp. 1 Cor. vii. 10, and Mark x. 11. "But unto the married I give charge, yea, not I, but the Lord, that the wife depart not from her husband: but if she depart let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband, and that the husband leave not his wife." "And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her; and if she herself shall put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery." Again, writing to the Corinthians Paul says (1 Cor. ix. 14), "Even so did the Lord ordain that they which proclaim the gospel should live of the gospel," which obviously alludes to the words of Jesus addressed to those who were to proclaim the gospel, "The labourer is worthy of his hire" (Luke x. 7).

The saying of Jesus of which Paul reminded the Ephesian Elders may, then, have been cast originally in a slightly different form. But in any case, we cannot dispute the appropriateness of the words to the character and person of Christ. "It possesses," says Mr. Ropes,[1] "the same right to be accepted as any saying in the Gospel of Luke." This raises the question why Luke should have omitted it from his gospel. The saying must have been acceptable to one whose views on riches and poverty have caused him, in certain circles, to be suspected of Ebionitism. We know that Luke used other sources

[1] *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol. p. 344, col. 2.

besides Mark and "Q." Probably in these he did not find the saying quoted by Paul, and therefore did not introduce it into his gospel. But against its inclusion in the Acts he saw no reason since there his authority for it is given. This view shows Luke's different valuation of oral and written tradition, and testifies to his scrupulosity as an evangelist.

X. Paulinism of Speech

The Pauline doctrine in the address to the elders is contained in passages which purport to be the substance of the Apostle's preaching, past and present. "Repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." "The Kingdom." "The Holy Spirit hath made you bishops to feed the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood." "I commend you to God and to the word of his grace which is able to build you up." These passages involve several textual problems. The most important concerns the reading "Church of God." The alternative reading is "Church of Christ." Other variants can safely be neglected. Church of God is a common expression of Paul, whilst Church of Christ occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. The MSS. authority is almost balanced, but inclines towards the first phrase.

ℵ and B read "Church of God." Ezra Abbot[1] remarks that they "are caught in bad company; which affords a strong presumption that they are in the wrong, and that the uncials and cursives which usually agree with them are right."

Codex Bezae reads "Church of Christ." The expression "blood of God" is unknown in Apostolic and Patristic literature. Hort suggests that *υἱοῦ* has dropped out after *ἰδίου*. If this be adopted,

[1] *Critical Essays*, pp. 311-12.

τοῦ θεοῦ may be read and the doctrinal difficulty disappears. But, on the other hand, the unusual *κυρίου* would be more easily altered into *θεοῦ* than the reverse. Tischendorf's argument seems also conclusive that with *κυρίου* as original, it is easier to understand the addition of *θεοῦ*, and thus account for the mixed readings, than to understand the addition of *κυρίου*, had *θεοῦ* stood originally in the text. The "Western" text, all things considered, seems to be primitive. The peculiarly Pauline view of the work of Christ here presented stands out the more prominently in Acts by reason of the reticence of Luke with regard to the Atonement in both his writings.[1]

It is hardly credible that at Miletus only did the apostle discourse on the sacrifice of Christ, but the speeches in 1 Acts which came to Luke in a written Aramaic source were less authoritative for him than the address to the elders of Ephesus to which he himself had listened.

If the Epistle to the Ephesians were indeed a letter sent by Paul to the Church at Ephesus, then it might reasonably be expected to resemble in tone and content the speech of Paul at Miletus to the Elders of Ephesus. But the Epistle, as scholars generally agree, was not sent to Ephesus. The crucial words in the address are wanting in the two oldest MSS., and Marcion sets the epistle down as "one to the Laodiceans." Again, in the letter, writer and readers are not personally acquainted. If this were addressed to Ephesus, since it could not have been composed before Paul's sojourn there, the opposition between its tone and that of the speech would be singular and striking. The Epistle is commonly regarded as a circular letter addressed to a number of Gentile Christian communities, which had not enjoyed the Apostolic co-operation.

[1] See "Luke the Theologian," p. 135.

Similarities, however, between the thought and language of the Epistle and the Speech are not altogether absent since they proceed from the same source. The "holy counsel of God" is a dominant thought of the Epistle (i. 11). The idea of inheritance (Acts xx. 33) is present (i. 11), and the conception of the Church as a building (Acts xx. 32). In an important passage (Ephes. ii. 20-22) the Church is spoken of as built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. Paul speaks of his ministry as derived from Christ (Acts xx. 24), and writes of it as "the dispensation of that grace of God, which was given me to you-ward." The word περιεποιήσατο and its idea in various forms are found in both speech and letter.

XI. Picture of Paul in Speech

The picture of Paul "the man" which the speech depicts is a replica of that found in his letters. We may compare his self-defence (Acts xx. 33-35) with various passages in 2 Corinthians. (2 Cor. ii. 17) "For we are not as the many, corrupting the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, speak we in Christ." (iv. 2) "not handling the world of God deceitfully; but by the manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." So also 2 Cor. vii. 8, xii. 13. The Apostle's self-depreciation and surrender to the cause of Christ have in like manner their parallels in the letters to the Corinthians. But the point need not be laboured since no unbiassed reader of the speech at Miletus can fail to notice the correspondence between the portrait herein portrayed and that which is manifested in the Pauline epistles.

XII. Nature and Value of Luke's Report

The address of Paul which we owe to Luke provides us with an illustration of his powers as a reporter. He takes in the main features of the situation at a glance, and represents them briefly and vividly. The Apostle's words are not so much literally reproduced as his personality and sentiments distinctly shown. Luke's report therefore resembles the descriptive paragraphs, which usually precede the *verbatim* account, in a modern newspaper report of an important meeting. Such a summary sketches the orator, especially on the emotional side, outlines his teaching, and presents the exact words of his most significant pronouncement. Of this nature is Luke's report of Paul's speech at Miletus to the Elders of Ephesus. With this conclusion, Dr. Moffatt is in general agreement. "Of the later speeches that of Miletus is probably nearest to a summary of the original words of Paul." [1]

The Apostle's quotation of our Lord's saying as authoritative for him and his converts, is highly important, since it casts a clear light upon the relation of Paul to Jesus; in other words, it goes to the very centre of the most critical problem of modern Christianity.

[1] Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 306.

CHAPTER VIII

LUKE THE DIARIST

I. Introduction

As the author of those passages in the book of Acts where the narrative is written in the first person, Luke has been properly considered a Diarist.

There is nothing singular in Luke having kept a diary of his journeys with Paul. "It was customary with distinguished travellers, princes, and generals of the ancient Hellenic world to have short diaries kept by some companion as a support for the memory, wherein the stations of the route, and, perhaps, here and there, notable experiences were cursorily set down."[1] For an ancient travel-narrative told in the first person plural Deissmann[2] compares the account by King Ptolemy Euergetes I. of his voyage to Cilicia and Syria in the Flinders Petrie Papyri.

A German scholar[3] ingeniously sought to prove that the diary—a genuine Acta Pauli—was a source used by the author of Acts, that it continued to survive after certain excerpts had been incorporated in Acts, and that from it various geographical and personal statements found their way into the

[1] Von Soden, *Early Christian Literature* (Eng. Tr.), p. 243.

[2] *St. Paul* (Eng. Tr.), p. 25, note 2.

[3] A. Potts, *Der abendländische Text des Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle.*

"Western" text of the book. But the hypothesis is wrecked, as Jülicher observed,[1] "by the fact that these peculiarities of the so-called 'Western' text extend over the whole of the book." There is also another consideration which Jülicher himself does not recognise.

Many scholars have conclusively shown that the author of these "we" passages is the author of the whole book. The linguistic proof is overwhelming, but it is not the only proof. The subject-matter betrays the same interests and beliefs on the part of the writer everywhere in Acts. The persons spoken of in the "diary" are in doctrine and practice the same as those of the same name in the rest of the work. In other words, there is no break in matter or manner when we pass to or from a "we" passage. Strauss' remark upon the Fourth Gospel is much more applicable to the book of Acts. It is like the seamless cloak. You can cast lots for it, but not divide it.

II. German Analysis

There is no operation, however, whatever its nature, which Germans have not attempted. Wendland treats the "we" passages as one of the sources used by the author of Acts, and considers the words of Paul (xxvii. 9-11) as an interpolation which is continued in verses 21-26. For Wellhausen there remains only the record of a stormy voyage which perhaps had nothing to do with Paul. Wendland names the similar story of Lucian (*Vera Historia*, i. 6).

Lucian's brief account of a storm at the beginning of his avowedly fictitious narrative has little or nothing in common with the detailed and vivid picture in Acts. Paul's words in Luke's narrative can certainly

[1] *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. Tr.), p. 454.

be omitted without very seriously affecting the record of the storm at sea, but the same could be said of any words spoken on such an occasion save the actual commands (here unreported) of the κυβερνήτης or ναύκληρος to the sailors handling the vessel. Yet Paul cannot be omitted from the narrative without further unwarranted incision into the text of this "we" passage—*e.g.* xxvii. 1, 31, 33, 43—to say nothing of the necessity for severing the connection of this chapter with what follows. In truth, there is no need to reject any part of the passage as it stands except on purely arbitrary subjective grounds relative to Paul's prescience and his confidence in the Divine leading. John Weiss sees no reason for regarding xxvii. 9-11 as an interpolation. "At most, one could say only that verse 12 would be better before verse 9." [1]

Weizsäcker [2] thus sums up the matter. "The stormy voyage and shipwreck form the central point of the narrative; to this is appended the residence at Malta. In the former Paul reveals himself as prophet, in the latter as the possessor of miraculous powers. We should make a vast mistake, however, if we were to infer from this that the simple travel-record had here been revised by a writer intent upon artificially glorifying the Apostle as a worker of miracles. The narrative is an indivisible whole; it is impossible to disentangle the mere history of travel from it, or to strip away the miraculous additions." "The whole narrative contains nothing which might not have so happened in the actual facts, and in the conception of those taking part in them."

What is true of xxvii. 1 f. is true of the Diary as a whole.

One objection raised against the Lucan authorship

[1] *Das Urchristentum*, S. 289, n. 2.
[2] *The Apostolic Age* (Eng. Tr.), vol. ii. p. 126.

of the Diary is singular. "The Gentile Luke surely did not write his diary in Jewish Greek." [1]

In the light of recent investigations into the sources and character of the Κοινή the expression "Jewish Greek" becomes something akin to an anachronism. There are "Septuagintalisms" in Acts, but these are not confined to the Diary and are also present in the third gospel. Dr. Bacon [2] is perceptibly nearer the facts when he marks the disdainful term "barbarians" (Acts xxviii. 14) employed by "the Hellenistic Diarist." The language and style of the Diary, like the rest of 2 Acts, and, in a smaller degree, of 1 Acts, is what might be expected from a writer of Luke's origin, experience, and culture. It is tolerable Κοινή Greek with a distinct approximation here and there, as in xxviii. 14, to the more literary form of that speech.

The Diary forms but "a small tenth part of the Acts," but it is in many ways the most important. It has emerged triumphantly from the severe tests imposed by modern scholarship, and in particular, the geographical and nautical details in the account of the voyage to Rome have been completely verified.

James Smith [3] conjectured that Luke "at some period of his life exercised his profession at sea." However this be, we can agree that "no one unaccustomed to a sea life could have described the events connected with it with such accuracy as he has done." As a more recent writer expresses it: "The most valuable nautical document preserved to us from antiquity is the description of the sea-journey and shipwreck of the Apostle Paul. Every seaman recognises at once that it must have been written by an eye-witness." [4]

[1] Bacon, *The Story of St. Paul*, p. 158. [2] *Ibid.* p. 212.
[3] *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 8.
[4] Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, S. xiii.

It is interesting to note in corroboration of these statements that[1] "in the Onomasticon of Julius Pollux of Naucratis in the Egyptian Delta, written about a century and a half later, we have a collection of Greek nautical terms, containing most of these used in St. Luke's description of the voyage."

III. One Imperfection of Diary according to "Neutral" Text

In one respect alone is the "diary" unsatisfactory, as preserved in the oldest MSS. There is no reference, however slight, to the conversion of Luke to Christianity, or to his first meeting with Paul. The self-effacement of Luke observable throughout the book does not lead us to expect more than an allusion, but even this is missing. Yet the narrative in xvi. 7-9, the first "we" passage according to the "Neutral" text, implies a previous acquaintance between Luke and Paul. It is scarcely conceivable that the Apostle took a man with him to preach to the Macedonians, who was recently a convert, or until that moment a convert unknown to him. Codex Bezae, however, makes good the deficiency of the other MSS.

As it stands in the generally accepted text, Acts xi. 27-30 is full of difficulties. From it we learn that those who had been persecuted at the time of Stephen's martyrdom had made their way to Antioch, and there met with conspicuous success in their missionary labours. The result was that Barnabas was despatched from Jerusalem to confirm and sustain their efforts. By him also "much people was added unto the Lord," and at length Paul was brought thither to take his share in the great work. So it came about that two Apostles stayed there a whole year, and that "the disciples

[1] *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv. p. 365 b.

were called Christians first in Antioch." At this point, if we follow the "Neutral" text, the story takes an unexpected turn. Prophets arrive from Jerusalem, and amongst them Agabus, who prophesied a great famine over all the world. This happened in the time of Claudius, when the disciples sent relief to their brethren in Judea by the hand of Barnabas and Saul. Codex Bezae, after the mention of the Prophets' arrival, represents the course of events differently. "And there was great joy. And when we were assembled, one of them by name Agabus signified that there should be a famine." Agabus reappears in xxi. 10, a "we" passage, where he is introduced as if for the first time. These phenomena have led some to argue that the author of Acts in xxi. 10 copied from a source different from that which preserved a record of an earlier appearance. But, as Harnack shows,[1] Aristarchus is introduced (xxvii. 2) as though for the first time, though he had appeared twice, and in the second case in a passage which is an integral part of the "we" narrative. He would further cut the knot by suggesting that the name Agabus in the earlier chapter is not original, but is due to an ancient interpolation from xxi. 10. "In xi. 28," he says, "we are not led to expect the mention of the name of an individual prophet. How easily it would occur to any one to complete the former passage by adding the name from the latter"! Of these two arguments, one is superfluous, for if the first has any force we have no need of the second. An interpolation which survives in every MS. is rare, and on other grounds the excision of the name is impossible. The use of the word "ὀνόματι" "by name" is also characteristic of Luke.[2] The section requires a somewhat different handling. The occur-

[1] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), p. 38.
[2] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 35.

rence in Codex Bezae of a "we" passage at this point is most suggestive, *συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν*. This meeting is in Antioch, and the earliest tradition states that Luke was a native of Antioch.

"*Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας.*" Eusebius[1] expresses himself strangely, but can hardly mean, as Sir William Ramsay supposes, that Luke "belonged to a family that had a connection with Antioch," nor did Jerome and Euthalius so understand him. The Prefatio Lucae (dated by Harnack third century at latest) also speaks of Luke as "a Syrian of Antioch, a disciple of the Apostles, and afterwards a follower of St. Paul."

Harnack has also collected evidence from the book of Acts which "is not only not opposed to the tradition that its author was a native of Antioch, but even admirably accommodates itself thereto."[2] The historian writes with a certain authoritativeness when he is in Antioch, or is relating "what points his attention to that city." The enumeration of the five prophets and teachers of the Antiochean Church "(and especially the distinguishing additions to the names) could have been interesting only to Antiocheans, or can be explained only from the interest it had for an Antiochean writer."[2]

Again, "the great missionary journey of St. Paul and St. Barnabas appears as an Antiochean undertaking; and in Antioch the burning question concerning circumcision is brought to a crisis by the Church in this city, which sends its representatives to the council at Jerusalem."[3]

It is difficult to resist the impression that Acts xi. 28 (Codex Bezae) presupposes the tradition concerning Luke's birthplace. We may go further, and

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4.
[2] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 22-3.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 23.

upon the evidence of the passage itself, declare it an authentic piece of Luke's writing, proving that the author of the third gospel and the Acts was a member of the Antiochean Church. The opening statement that there was great joy is consistent with what precedes. Barnabas "was glad" (ἐχάρη) when "he had seen the grace of God." The advent of Paul and the Apostolic preaching was followed, after a year's ministry, by the arrival of prophets from Jerusalem. This marked the culminating point of rejoicing amongst the disciples. Their assembling together to hear what message the prophets had to deliver was natural and inevitable. In verse 26, we are expressly told of such assemblies for the purpose of instruction at the hands of the Apostles. The prophetic message is, in Luke's manner, only partially reported.

The famine over all the inhabited world which Agabus foresaw is not easily explained. Antioch, at least, was not affected, for, according to verses 29 f. the disciples there "sent relief to the brethren in Judea." According to Josephus,[1] a great famine came upon Judea in the first years of the reign of Claudius. Professor Torrey[2] believes the words ὅλη ἡ οἰκουμένη to be a natural mistranslation of the Aramaic כל ארעא in Luke's source; the words originally having denoted only the land of Judea. Wendt thinks "the author of Acts misunderstood his source, which referred to that kind of famine of which the prophet Amos spoke, not a famine of bread . . . but of hearing the words of the Lord."[3] These explanations are ingenious, but, on the one hand, as Luke belonged to the Antiochean Church there is no need to suppose that a source lies behind his narrative at this point, and, on the other hand,

[1] *Ant.* xx. v. 2.
[2] *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 21.
[3] *Hibbert Journal*, xii. 154.

we may presume that if such a source existed the sort of famine spoken of by the prophet would surely be shown.

It is simplest to suppose that Luke, who was present, gives the words of Agabus, and contents himself by adding *ἥτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ* Κλαυδίου, a phrase further elucidated by the mention of the despatch of relief to Jerusalem, and intended to identify the famine with that spoken of by Josephus.

Donations to the Jerusalem church "by young Christian communities drawn from pagans in Asia and Europe"[1] for long constituted "a manifestation of the consciousness that all Christians shared an inner fellowship." We may perhaps compare the modern contributions made by every Christian Science Church, from its formation, to the mother church at Boston, U.S.A., the outstanding difference being, of course, that the latter is not afflicted with apostolic poverty.

Dr. Plummer's statement[2] that the "Western" reading here may be true without being original is precarious. Harnack expresses it more cautiously,[3] "This reading is correct in that it marks that the tradition here belongs not to Jerusalem but to Antioch." The English scholar's position has powerful support in Westcott and Hort's attitude towards the so-called interpolations of the "Western" text. Roughly stated this is that such a passage as this preserves an original tradition taken from some other source, written or oral. In the same way Professor Ramsay credits an interpolator in Acts with a remarkable knowledge of Oriental geography and customs. The "we" passage under discussion, like the astonishing information of Ramsay's glossator, seems too good to be true—as

[1] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity* (Eng. Tr.), i. 227.
[2] *Commentary on Luke*, p. xii.
[3] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 167.

interpolated tradition. It is either something more or less. A critical examination of Acts xi. 28 suggests the former alternative. The addition of these words by a later writer is more difficult to account for than their omission. There is no previous occurrence of the first person to mislead a copyist. On the other hand, the apparently slight connection of the words with the context might easily lead a scribe to omit them as not being original.

As Zahn asks,[1] "What can have induced a scribe or scholiast to alter the current text in this way, and smuggle in just at this point a 'we' passage? No man can say." Preuschen[2] admits that the "we" document lies behind the narrative at this point, and John Weiss[3] is in agreement.

Pfleiderer,[4] who credits "D" with the first of the "we" sections, thinks the date (*ἥτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου*) was added by the author of Acts (whom he distinguishes from Luke) from his knowledge of Josephus. There is no need to suppose the author of Acts owed this or any other chronological reference to Josephus.

Harnack[5] in his examination of the chronological data in Acts, singles out two points as "worthy of special notice and consideration" in connection with the earliest period of the mission in Palestine, viz. the date of Paul's first and fundamentally important visit to Antioch, and the reference to the famine under Claudius, together with the reference to Herod Agrippa. He adds, "The fact that this notice is unique in the first half of the book suggests that the account of the mission in Antioch, in regard

[1] *Das Evangelium des Lucas*, S. 10.
[2] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, S. 100.
[3] *Das Urchristentum*, S. 105.
[4] *Primitive Christianity* (Eng. Tr.), vol ii. p. 227.
[5] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 14, 15.

to its source, either belongs to the accounts of the second half or is not inferior to them in value."

Combining the two complementary "half truths" of Pfleiderer and Harnack, we should say that on internal and external evidence the account of the mission in Antioch belongs to the diary of Luke.

As commonly understood, the first "we" passage is xvi. 10-17, immediately after the vision at Troas. Then there is a break. xx. 5-11 is the second passage, xxi. 1-18 the third, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16 the fourth and last. There is no reason, in the nature of things, why there should not have been a reference earlier than these to the author of the narratives. Indeed, the presumption is quite the other way. Against the acceptance of the "Western" reading, Ramsay is most decided.[1] "The Bezan 'we' in xi. 28 will satisfy those who consider the Bezan text to be Lucan, but to us it appears to condemn the Bezan text as of non-Lucan origin. The warmth of feeling which breathes through all parts of Acts dealing with the strictly Greek world, is in striking contrast with the cold and strictly historical tone of the few brief references to Syrian Antioch." "Our view is that the Reviser had an Antiochean connection, and betrays it in that insertion, which to him recorded a historical fact, but to us seems legend in an early stage of growth." The assumption that we need to accept the Bezan text as Lucan, before we attribute any single reading in it to Luke, is not justifiable. Again, a Greek, though he were a native of Antioch, might not unnaturally feel more enthusiastic about the "strictly Greek world" than about the Syrian city. The place in which a man is born is often very much less to him than the home of his fathers. Professor Ramsay's judgement, on his own showing, depends upon a subjective criterion, and lacks the support of tradition. More-

[1] *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 210.

over, it is bound up with his identification of Luke with "the man from Macedonia" in the vision. "In favour of this conjecture stands the circumstance," says Harnack,[1] "that the 'we' at this point would receive a good explanation, and would no longer startle us like a sudden pistol-shot." There is no shock, however, if the "Western" reading in xi. 28 is accepted. "The delicacy of St. Luke's literary feeling" is also as evident in the hint that he was converted at Antioch, as in the "hint that Paul learnt to know him at Troas." [2]

IV. Sir William Ramsay on Luke's Conversion

According to Ramsay's theory, the conversion of Luke to Christianity is not so much as alluded to. "Beyond the appearance of Luke at Troas," [3] we cannot penetrate through the veil in which Luke has enveloped himself. Was he already a Christian, or did he come under the influence of Christianity through meeting Paul here? No evidence remains; "something sealed the lips of that evangelist, so far as he himself is concerned." His own inference is that they met as strangers. But Luke's silence is not so complete as this, nor Paul's conduct so inexplicable. At Antioch, where a great Christian movement had sprung up, fostered by Barnabas, and then by Paul, Luke, a native Greek physician of that city, had been caught up by the wave of conversion. We may conjecture that he was one of Paul's own converts, which would account for the deep personal interest of the one in the other, and also that during the year when the disciples were "gathered together in the Church," he was preparing himself to become, in due course, evangelist and historian of the new faith. Such is the light thrown

[1] *The Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 99. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 203.

upon the first meeting of Paul and Luke by the "Western" reading. The actual words of Luke the first time he speaks in the first person are indeed few in number. Even his account of Antioch as a whole lacks[1] "that vivid distinctness which is found in most of the descriptions in the second half of the book." Hence Harnack thinks[2] "the narrative depends not upon the personal experience and the eye-witness of the writer, but upon tradition." And "for this reason, the 'we' of codex D in xi. 28 is certainly not original." Hence, however, a fine distinction should not be neglected. Luke, the recent convert, would not write with the same confidence nor at such length as the bosom friend of the Apostle Paul. He had only known Paul, at most, for a year. By the time the next "we" passage is written, the positions of both men are very much changed. A considerable time has elapsed, during which Paul's missionary zeal has raised him to the front rank of Christian Apostles, and Luke's steadfast adherence to the faith of his adoption made him the Apostle's closest friend.

When John Bright "went over to Manchester" (in 1836) to ask Cobden, his senior by seven years, "if he would be kind enough to come to Rochdale and to speak at an education meeting" he little knew that there then began "the most important and perhaps the most intimate and unclouded friendship in English political history."[3] Indeed, it was not until five years later that "the sacred compact" was made which linked their lives together until the death of the older man. Had Bright kept a diary in 1836, or even a few years later, assuredly his first meeting with Cobden would have been honoured with but slight mention.

[1] Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. 91.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 91, note.
[3] Trevelyan, *Life of John Bright*, p. 30.

Where Luke was, and what he was doing, in the interval between the times spoken of in chapters xi. and xvi. is no more apparent than his work or whereabouts between the other periods when he writes in the first person, and is in the company of Paul. Yet it is certain that during none of these intervals was the evangelist idle. A detailed narrative of affairs at Antioch, his native city, and the place of his conversion, at the very commencement of his career, would have been impossible to his delicate, retiring nature. As it is, if Luke was, as the "Western" text implies, brought into the Church at Antioch, his reference to that fact is at once characteristic and fitting. The reading which suggests it is attested by St. Augustine, and is quite in Luke's manner. The word for joy, ἀγαλλίασις, occurs three times elsewhere in Luke and Acts, and only twice in the rest of the New Testament. Luke's natural joyousness is displayed in both his books, and is discussed elsewhere.[1] Συστρέφειν is found in an accepted "we" passage (Acts xxviii. 3), and in the rest of the New Testament only once. The participle and the verb compounded with preposition are characteristic of Luke. Accepting the "Western" reading, we must finally reject as "entirely arbitrary"[2] Harnack's suggested excision of the name "Agabus." This prophet, who appears twice in Acts, and on both occasions in a "we" passage, must have been known to Luke.

We are indebted to Codex Bezae for preserving an extract from Luke's diary, which dissipates the darkness that in the "Neutral" text surrounds the conversion of Luke to Christianity, and his first meeting with the Apostle Paul.

[1] See "Luke the Humorist."
[2] Clemen, *Hibbert Journal*, viii. 787.

CHAPTER IX

LUKE AND HIS FRIENDS

I. Introduction—Luke's Medical Training and Acquaintances

The Greek physician who passed by steps we cannot trace from a Pagan medical school into the Christian Church, and entered the inmost circle of the great Apostle, must have been a man with a conspicuous capacity for friendship. Paul's endearing allusion to him in the letter to the Colossians is only one proof of this. The self-repression of the author of the Acts of the Apostles, his tendency to hero-worship, his joyous disposition and unfailing fidelity are evidences sufficient of themselves. His writings reveal a man of geniality with a modesty that must have endeared him to his kind. Unhappily his virtues not less than his plans have hindered him from saying much of his relations with comrades and acquaintances. What Luke has left us are simply references, incidental and fragmentary, to the men and women he met and knew. Yet even from these there is much to be learnt.

We should be grateful for any light thrown upon the pre-Christian life of Luke. Probably, like many other converts, he came under the influence of the synagogue before he embraced Christianity. His works suggest this in more ways than one.

Whether we can go further back and discover the names of his fellow-students is more doubtful. From the resemblance of the gospel prologue to that of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides Pedacius, it has been thought the two men might have studied at the same time at the University of Tarsus. Dioscorides apparently must be dated in the first or second century, and was a native of Anazarbus, fifty miles from Tarsus, where a famous school of medicine was held. It is therefore not quite impossible that Luke and he were acquainted. But Galen's dedication to Piso of his book on Antidotes resembles Luke's dedication of his gospel to Theophilus, and in the preface of Hippocrates on ancient medicine, which must have been written three hundred years before Luke wielded a pen, there is some likeness to the preface to the third gospel. If Luke is not following a customary form, he had probably read the works of the Greek authors mentioned. But between such knowledge and personal acquaintance is a gap which no tradition bridges over.

II. His Friends in the Church—Mark

The friends and companions of Luke the Christian evangelist and historian were numerous, and included some of the most striking figures in the primitive Church. If he did not enjoy the friendship of any of the twelve Apostles, he was on familiar terms with their contemporaries and followers. Many, possibly most, of these were rather drawn in the first place to the great pioneer preacher whom Luke honoured so dearly, but some at least entered into most amicable relations with the evangelist himself. Of the other evangelists, Mark was well known to Luke. For a time, truly, Luke's friendship suffered something like a reverse.

The men were of different nationalities, and, as a comparison of their writings proves, were of a different order of genius. If with Dr. Chase we interpret ὑπηρέτην of Acts xiii. 5, as "synagogue minister" in accordance with the suggestion of a Jewish epitaph found at Rome, then we see how close Mark's ties with Judaism were, whilst the outstanding facts about Luke were his Greek origin and his Pauline sympathies. But these things of themselves would not have separated Luke and Mark. It was the latter's desertion of Paul at Pamphylia, when "he went not with them to the work" that Luke resented. His mention of this act shows that he shared the anger of Paul which led to the breach with Barnabas. If, as on other grounds seems likely, Luke was converted to Christianity at Antioch, where Paul and Barnabas together had ministered with such success, there were more reasons than one for Luke's displeasure.

Besides Mark's withdrawal from missionary labours there was the severance of two friends with both of whom Luke had been on good terms since the earliest days of his entering the Church.

There was beneath all else Luke's sympathy with the policy of Paul as opposed to that favoured by the Jewish party in the Church to which Mark belonged. Later, when Paul and Mark had been reconciled, Luke is found in the company of both under circumstances that leave no doubt of the reality of their friendship. When Colossians and Philemon were written Mark was at Rome with the Apostle as "fellow-worker," sharing his imprisonment and affording him "comfort." This change in the relations of Paul and Mark must be due to the acceptance by the cousin of Barnabas of Paulinism in its broad outlines. The reunion may have been effected by Luke. It is significant that Paul never

mentioned Luke without mentioning Mark. Presumably in the Apostle's mind these two were associated in some special way. A casual reference to the name of the maidservant in the home of Mark's mother indicates that Luke was familiar with the family of the second evangelist. As an intermediary, the former friend of Barnabas would occupy a favourable position, whilst his natural disposition would prompt him to play the part of peacemaker. Other reasons for Luke's intervention lie only just beneath the surface.

The arguments of Harnack, negative and positive, for the early dates of the third gospel and of Acts merit careful consideration. He concludes, "It is possible that St. Luke brought his gospel to Rome when he came thither to Paul in prison; and tradition asserts no veto against the hypothesis that St. Luke, when he met St. Mark in the company of Paul the prisoner, was permitted by him to peruse a written record of the Gospel history which was essentially identical with the gospel of St. Mark given to the Church at a later time." [1]

Before Mark reached Rome, Luke probably knew what he had done in the way of compiling his gospel. Having resolved himself to publish an accurate account of all things from the first, he had a personal interest in the reconciliation of Paul and Mark, since, as the bosom friend of the former, he could not otherwise so easily learn what had been accomplished. Certainly, Luke made a full if somewhat free use of Mark's gospel, and if "the peculiar relation that exists between the second and third gospels suggests that St. Luke was not yet acquainted with St. Mark's final revision" then he was indebted to Mark as a private friend for an inspection of a first draft of his gospel rather than

[1] Harnack, *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 132, 133.

to him as the author of a gospel which enjoyed something like a circulation in the Church.

III. Paul

Of Luke's intimate friendship with Paul something has been said. Probably his admiration for the Apostle, so patent throughout Acts, is that not only of a disciple but of a personal convert.[1]

It is significant that the name Λουκᾶς appears in the New Testament only in Colossians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy. The first two epistles are almost indisputably Pauline, and the section of 2 Timothy (iv. 9-21) which contains the reference to Luke is admitted by many scholars who deny Paul's authorship of the Pastoral Epistles to be a genuine Pauline fragment.

Λουκᾶς is a contraction of Λουκανός and of Λουκίος. Professor Ramsay[2] quotes an inscription of Pisidian Antioch where Λουκᾶς and Λουκίος are used for the same person. The name Λουκᾶς "belongs in fact to the class of pet names, as a glance at the long list of such in *Jannaris' Historical Greek Grammar* will show."[3] Is it too much to suppose that Paul coined the "pet name" for his young friend, and that the very name of the author of the third gospel and of Acts, with which we are familiar, is an evidence of Apostolic regard for him?

It is at least certain that Luke was a chosen companion, one of two who accompanied Paul on his perilous journey to Rome. The evangelist was a missionary preacher with the Apostle, his fellow-worker and medical adviser.

It may not be, as Hobart supposes, that the recorded meetings of Paul and Luke were, in every

[1] See "Luke the Diarist," p. 202.
[2] *Expositor*, December 1912, pp. 504 ff.
[3] Souter, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ii. 83.

case, related to the exercise of his profession by the younger man, but there are not wanting signs that "the beloved physician" was a cheery comrade whose presence was inspiriting to the older man.[1]

In many ways the relations in which Paul stood to Luke resemble those between Cicero and his freedman Tiro. The great Roman orator owed much besides the preservation of his letters to his faithful friend. In the words of Quintus Cicero[2] Tiro, a man "much superior to the station in which he was born," was the companion in study of his gifted master. Luke, who only less distinctly than Tiro has preserved for us the portrait of a great man of antiquity, was probably a dependent, and certainly, to all outward appearance, a servant of the Apostle. As we learn from Suetonius, Seneca, Cicero, and Quintilian, slaves, especially Syrians, practised medicine.

The Greek physician, who travelled with Paul through the provinces and finally to Rome, was not less invaluable to him than the Latin secretary who accompanied Cicero on his travels through the Empire. And Paul might have written to Luke in the same terms as Cicero did to Tiro:[3] "The obligations which you have conferred on me are countless, in my home and in the Forum, at Rome and in my province; they extend alike to my public and my private concerns—to my studies and to my writing."

The precise extent to which Luke was a "Paulinist" has been unnecessarily laboured by various scholars.[4] The author of the speech of Paul at Miletus to the elders of Ephesus was surely at one, in the main, with the Apostle to the Gentiles. An examination of Luke's vocabulary discloses the extent of his obligations. Mr. Naylor has made

[1] See "Luke the Humorist," pp. 146-7.
[2] *Ad Fam.* xvi. 16.
[3] *Ibid.* xvi. 4. 2.
[4] See "Luke the Theologian."

a further contribution to an elucidation of the relations of Paul and Luke. After discussing the current theories of medicine amongst the ancients, and, in particular, the Greek view of demoniac possession, he says: "The scientific influence of Greek medicine upon Luke's mind was overborne by that of Paul, and by his experiences in the Jewish Christian atmosphere in which he certainly lived from the time of meeting Paul at Troas, if not from an earlier period of connection with the Church at Antioch."[1] Assuming the truth of what has been urged elsewhere, we may lay stress on the last few words, and connect them closely with the first sentence. In any case, if contact with Paul sufficed to counteract a previous scientific training, it may be conceded that it would affect *a fortiori* Luke's theological and doctrinal opinions, though we need not regard him as "a Paulinist masquerading as a historian."

Harnack[2] properly protests against the "common assumption that a companion of Paul must be pictured simply according to the pattern of the Master." "Tatian was a disciple of Justin, and mentions Justin with the highest praise in the very work which shows us how far in teaching he is removed from his master."

IV. Barnabas

Synchronous with Luke's acquaintance with Paul was his meeting with Barnabas. The primary rank of the Cypriote amongst the early missioners of the faith is not concealed by Luke. The kinsman of Mark was influential in the Church at Antioch and elsewhere after his departure from that city. His earlier sacrifices for the common

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, viii. 43.

[2] *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (Eng. Tr.), p. 33.

good of the Christian community are specially noted. More than once he and Paul are represented as sharing the same sentiments in their preaching. They were the chosen delegates of the Antiochean Church to the elders of Jerusalem upon the question of the necessity of circumcision, and with others they brought back to Antioch the decrees of the Jerusalem Council. After the breach between them Luke makes no further mention of Barnabas, though from references by Paul it appears that their friendship was, at least partially, resumed. Indeed, after the reconciliation of Paul with Mark, this would be both easy and natural. We may properly assume that Luke, following the lead of Paul, cultivated again the good-will of one whose friendship he had formerly valued.

V. Aristarchus

In the company of Paul and Luke there travelled to Rome "Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica."[1] He and Gaius are mentioned by Luke in connection with the disturbance at Ephesus, and Harnack finds it difficult to understand the reason for this, if these men were not Luke's authorities for the account of the tumult in the city famous as "the temple-keeper of the great Goddess Artemis."[2] Obviously Aristarchus was a person of some moment in the Pauline circle, for he is described as the Apostle's fellow-worker and as one who shared his imprisonment. What a share in imprisonment implies cannot be exactly determined. It may have been a temporary confinement, or a voluntary captivity. But it must have been possible only to an intimate friend of Paul. Luke's association with Aristarchus can scarcely have been less cordial. Their long journey together to the

[1] Acts xxvii. 2. [2] Acts xix. 35.

capital, and Luke's dependence upon the Thessalonian for a portion of his narrative, argue a considerable degree of intimacy. Unfortunately Aristarchus remains a rather shadowy figure in the Acts of the Apostles. Howbeit, a common acceptance of Paul's leadership, and a common danger encountered in his behalf, assuredly bound together Luke and Aristarchus, men of one race, as more than mere acquaintances.

VI. Philip the Evangelist and his Daughters

Like Aristarchus, Philip the Evangelist and his daughters are reckoned by many on good grounds to have been one of Luke's authorities for traditions which he preserved. Philip was either a Hellenist or a liberal Hebrew, a missionary preacher, who, as Luke informs us, carried the gospel into Samaria. By his conversion to Christianity of the treasurer to Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, as he journeyed between Jerusalem and Gaza, he performed another conspicuous piece of pioneer work. It may have been from such successful propaganda that he gained the title "the evangelist." Luke with Paul and others stayed "many days" at the home of Philip in Caesarea, and probably met him afterwards in Asia. Papias of Hierapolis reported that he had heard from the daughters of Philip wonderful tales of former times. Harnack and Dr. Bartlet ascribe much of the matter peculiar to Luke, which betrays a Jerusalem standpoint, and an interest in women and in Samaritans, to this source. Apparently the traditions of the daughters of Philip which Luke gives are in a large measure of the same legendary character as those to which Papias afterwards listened. Perhaps Luke's interest in prophecy may be partially due to the influence of the ecstatic utterances of these women.

VII. Manaen

Of one man, who was probably Luke's informant in matters relating to the Herods,[1] mention is made but once by the author of Acts. Manaen is included amongst the "prophets and teachers" in the church at Antioch (xiii. 1), and described as Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου σύντροφος. The last word, literally "foster-brother," is rendered by Deissmann[2] "intimate friend." From Polybius, inscriptions, and the papyri we learn that σύντροφος τοῦ βασιλέως was a Hellenistic court-title. It is clear, then, that Manaen was, for some reason, in the confidence of Herod Antipas, and we may assume that Luke's intimacy with one of his early teachers was not diminished by the fact that from him, as a courtier, he derived first-hand knowledge of the reigning house when engaged in compiling materials for his history.

VIII. Theophilus

The most excellent Theophilus to whom Luke dedicated both his books must have been a friend, if not a patron, of our author, and, as the title shows, a personage of considerable worldly importance. Dr. Moffatt thinks "he may have been on the pro-consular staff, or an official of some kind in the imperial service."[3]

Lightfoot, however, is sceptical about the existence of any friend of Luke bearing the name Theophilus.[4] "The adoption of the name Theophilus or Philotheus as a representative godly Christian has parallels in both ancient and modern times." "It is no

[1] See p. 27. [2] *Bible Studies* (Eng. Tr.), p. 312.
[3] *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ii. 727.
[4] Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, 2nd ed. vol. i. pt. i. p. 26.

objection that he is designated κράτιστος, a title given to those in high position, for there is no reason why the writer should not have wished to commend the faith of Christ to persons of this class."

The parallels adduced by Lightfoot are, however, doctrinal and ecclesiastical treatises. A historian, writing a preface to his works, would be free, it might be assumed, from the motives which lead controversialists or theologians to employ pseudonyms. Nor is there any evidence that Luke had any reason for addressing himself, in a general way, to persons of the class to whom the title κράτιστος was applied. On the contrary, as Paul said (1 Cor i. 26), "not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble were called." Even later than Luke's day it was a common reproach that Christianity was a religion of the common people, and the Apologists rather gloried in it than denied it.

"Luke's dedication of a second book to Theophilus" should be understood, as Zahn says,[1] "as proof that the first had met a kindly reception, and it is probable that Theophilus, following the recognised practice of the time, would arrange for the circulation of both books." "The *patronus libri* often undertook to have copies of the book made by *librarii* at his own expense, and thus its introduction to wider circles was facilitated."[2]

References to Jewish feasts throughout the whole of Acts presume in Theophilus such a knowledge as only one who had been in touch with Judaism could possess.

The name Theophilus has been found on an ostrakon as the name of a Jew who lived in the first century. It seems improbable that a Greek bore the name of Theophilus from birth, and Harnack supposes

[1] *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. Tr.), iii. 43.

[2] Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 313.

that either Luke gave it to him, or "he himself as a Christian had taken the name Theophilus just as a few decades later the Christian Ignatius took the name Theophorus." Here we are entirely in the region of surmise and speculation. The one certain fact is that Luke had a friend of some eminence to whom he dedicated both the Gospel and Acts, who is not mentioned in his narrative as playing any part in the Christian missions, nor named elsewhere in early Christian literature. Its significance lies in the indication of the wide sphere within which Luke found friends. When we pass from friends to acquaintances, a large number of people come into view.

IX. The Elders of Jerusalem—Lydia of Thyatira

The Elders of Jerusalem with James at their head are perhaps amongst the most important. Whether their acquaintance was most highly esteemed by Luke is more doubtful. Lydia, the purple-seller of Thyatira, a Jewish proselyte, at whose house he stayed at Philippi, was unquestionably more friendly towards Luke and those with whom he was leagued.

X. Mnason of Cyprus

Mnason of Cyprus, again, with whom Paul and Luke lodged "in a certain village" (Codex Bezae) between Caesarea and Jerusalem, was a man in whom they had particular confidence. He was an ἀρχαῖος μαθητής "an original disciple" (xxi. 16), that is, one who belonged to the beginning of the gospel, the meaning of the adjective being "illustrated by Magn. 215 b—a contemporary inscription."[1] The "Neutral" text represents Mnason as in Jerusalem,

[1] Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Test.* p. 80.

and thus makes the travellers go from Caesarea to Jerusalem—a distance of sixty-eight miles—in one day. The A. and R.V. contribute the further absurdity that they brought *with them* Mnason from the one city in order that he might act as their host in the other.

The "Neutral" text *ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσονί τινι Κυπρίῳ* (xxi. 16) is therefore resolved in two ways, neither of which is satisfactory. The "Western" text gives the sense required, *παραγενόμενοι εἴς τινα κώμην ἐγενόμεθα παρὰ Μνάσωνι.* Obviously Paul might rely upon the hospitality of brethren in Jerusalem, and the "Western" text adds that "the brethren received us gladly" (xxi. 17). The Caesarean disciples accompanied Paul that they might bring him to a village, known to them but not to the Apostle, where he and Luke could find entertainment in the house of Mnason on their journey to Jerusalem.

Harnack [1] confesses that "the 'Western' reading here is at first sight very attractive," but rejects it as "a later correction of a prolepsis" by Luke, since it is "incredible that he should have taken such interest in noting the person with whom Paul, with his large following of Gentile Christians, found hospitality for one night on the way between Caesarea and Jerusalem."

The name Mnason is Greek, and its owner would be, if not a Gentile, then a Hellenist. As Harnack himself suggests,[2] "he may have been one of the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, scattered by the persecution that came after the death of Stephen, who founded the church at Antioch." If so, Luke would have a peculiar interest in his Jerusalem host, and renew his friendship with him as with an old teacher whose instruction in days gone by had contributed to his conversion.

[1] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 115, 116, 204.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 89.

Probably, if we knew more of the subordinate persons mentioned only by name in the book of Acts, we should gain a deeper insight into the friendships of Luke. From the manner in which these obscure people are spoken of in the narrative, it is plain that Luke enjoyed a personal acquaintance with them, and might have told us much more about them if it had been consistent with his plan in writing the Acts of the Apostles.

XI. Luke's Pagan Friends

Of those outside the Christian movement whom Luke had met, only meagre notices are handed down by him.

Julius, the centurion of the Augustan cohort in charge of Paul and other prisoners on the journey to Rome, is briefly but clearly sketched. Amid the difficulties of the voyage, he naturally gave more heed to the master and to the owner of the ship than to Paul. Yet when shipwreck followed, he stayed the soldiers from their purpose of slaying the prisoners from a desire to save Paul. This consideration may have been due entirely to the position of the Apostle as an eminent prisoner who had appealed to Caesar. Something may have been due also to the impression which Paul had made upon him. Anyhow Luke owed his life to this respect for Paul. He himself could have counted for little or nothing, for he and Aristarchus could hardly have travelled with Paul except as his servants.

Publius, the chief man of the Island of Malta, upon which the unfortunate men were thrown, had a more personal interest in Luke the Physician. Publius had received him and his companions, and entertained them for three days. Then, after his father's illness had been healed by Paul, all the

others on the island suffering from diseases came and received medical treatment. This work fell to Luke, whose benevolence and charity would be deeply moved by the exhibition of suffering. The islanders showed their appreciation of his kindness by loading him and his friends with honours, and by putting on board, as they set sail, such things as they needed.

Jews, Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians were amongst those whom Luke counted his friends and acquaintances. Scarcely second to Paul in magnanimity and warm-heartedness, Luke's intercourse with his friends as far as that can be made out displays, in an exalted degree, the type of Christian virtues cultivated in the first century.

CHAPTER X

THE INDIFFERENCE OF GALLIO

I. Character of Gallio

L. Junius Gallio, brother of Seneca the philosopher, and uncle of Lucan the poet, has, until comparatively recently, hardly received justice at the hands of Christian commentators. He has been represented as an ancient embodiment of a modern spirit, and his name has passed almost into a synonym for culpable indifference. Yet, as we learn from his brother, and from the poet Statius, he was a man of integrity and uprightness, whose wit and amiability won him universal regard. There is nothing reported in the eighteenth chapter of Acts of his meeting with Paul at Corinth which does not harmonise with this description of his character. Partly the contrary judgement is due to a mistaken identification, partly to a deficient textual reading.

II. Probabilities of Situation

The fact that a Sosthenes is mentioned as a Christian brother in Paul's greeting to the Corinthians led many early writers to suppose that the ruler of the synagogue, who suffered the indignity of a public chastisement, was none other than the fellow-worker with the Apostle. This misappre-

hension was supported by a curious omission from the texts of the greater MSS. of the New Testament, viz., ℵAB. This reading, found in our R.V., leaves the nationality of the infuriated mob an open question. "And they all laid hold on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him."[1] Accepting the identification mentioned, it was thought that Gallio, after pronouncing a verdict against the Jews, had permitted them a trifling compensation by allowing them to flog a high-placed Christian. Some later copyists went further and inserted the words "the Jews," in accordance with this interpretation. "And Gallio cared for none of these things" was therefore construed as Luke's condemnation of the proconsul. In reality, the reverse is nearer the mark. It is highly improbable that Crispus, the converted ruler of the synagogue, would be succeeded by another convert to Christianity in the person of Sosthenes. The contrary is more natural. Deposed for his change of religious opinion, Crispus would be followed by an unbending Jew. And we are not driven to conclude that the beating he received "must have led to a very remarkable and unexpected change of heart."[2]

There is no difficulty in regard to the name. As there were two Apostles called Judas, and two eminent Christians named James, so there may well have been two men in Corinth of the name of Sosthenes, one a friend and the other a foe of the gospel. Again, no Roman governor, and certainly not Gallio, would suffer anything that savoured of revenge to those whose case he had virtually condemned. When we turn to the "Western" text, the whole situation becomes clear. "Then all the Greeks took Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him." We now see what happened.

[1] Acts xviii. 17.
[2] Bacon, *The Story of St. Paul*, p. 169.

Gallio, according to the evidence of an inscription discovered at Delphi in 1905, entered on his proconsulship in the summer of A.D. 51. Paul had then been evangelising at Corinth for a year and a half. His enemies immediately resolved to "try their luck" with the new proconsul. Deissmann[1] parallels the later case reported in Acts xxiv. 27–xxv. 2, "where Luke tells us that after two years and a half a new procurator came, and the Jews then renewed proceedings against Paul before him."

The Jews of Corinth, led by the zealous Sosthenes, indicted Paul before the new proconsul on a charge of breaking the law. Gallio's speech reported in Acts sums up his inquiries, in the course of which he is convinced that the Jews have misrepresented the case.

III. Judaism a "Religio Licita"

"It is a mistake to imagine that because Judaism was a *religio licita*, Gallio could be invoked in the interests of Jewish orthodoxy (the recorded instances of official protection when Jewish privileges were attacked by municipal authorities are of quite different nature)."[2] By "contrary to the law" the Jews intended Gallio to understand Roman law, but failed of their purpose.

No civil offence had been committed, and no code of public morality violated. It is not a matter for the exercise of the Roman law, but a religious dispute touching words and names, which to Gallio signified nothing. Without more ado he drives the accusers from the seat of judgement. The Greek bystanders, perceiving the snub inflicted upon Sosthenes, embraced the opportunity of displaying their own dislike of men whom they deemed

[1] *Paul* (Eng. Tr.), p. 239.
[2] Woodhouse, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ii. 1638.

superstitious and misanthropic. With the instinct of a mob they rushed upon the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him in the very presence of the proconsul.

There is no need to suppose, with Wendt, that subordinate Roman judicial officers were associated with the Greeks in these tumultuary proceedings. Such conduct was as alien to the temperament of Latin officials as it was expressive of the disposition of an Hellenic crowd. The difference between the two types of character may perhaps not inaptly be compared with that between staid English officers of the law and an impulsive Irish assembly.

IV. Gallio's Attitude

"And Gallio cared for none of these things." To some extent the exhibition of mob law approved itself to him as a rude kind of justice. The Jews had trumped up a charge against Paul and deserved punishment. It was a case of the biter bit. So Sosthenes was left to take care of himself. If Gallio closed his eyes to the petty strife of Greek and Jew, at least he was not guilty of injustice to any Christian. Obviously he had no interest in Christianity or Judaism as such. The bickering of Jewish sectaries, for so it seemed to him, was so much verbal vexation. He, for his part, recked little of any Messiah, past or future, but he was resolved, as the representative of Rome, not to be embroiled in religious disputes. In a cosmopolitan city like Corinth, where cults of almost every kind were practised, a policy of contemptuous toleration doubtless agreed equally well with the proconsul's private opinions, and with the public interests of the Empire.

V. Luke's Attitude towards Rome

The story of this incident is important not only because of the eminent character of the chief actors, but also because it illustrates Luke's attitude towards the Roman government, and exemplifies the value of the "Western" text. It is one of many indications that Luke affords us of the friendly disposition of the Imperial authorities towards Christianity. It was the Jewish synagogues that were, as Tertullian called them, the *fontes persecutionum*.

Probably to Paul the missionary the attitude of Gallio meant much as indicative of the protection which Rome might afford in the event of a persecution such as afterwards arose, and the appeal to Caesar (xxv. 11) may have been partially inspired by recollection of the action of the proconsul at Corinth.

The "Western" text has preserved the reading which puts the portrait of Gallio in the proper light. It is more likely to be original than to be a later gloss for more reasons than one.

Wendt[1] accepts the reading of ℵAB, and regards the words οἱ Ἕλληνες of the "Western" text, and οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι of the later codices, as alike additions due to different interpretations of the situation. None the less he allows that the assailants of Sosthenes were Gentiles, and that οἱ Ἕλληνες is at least a correct gloss.

VI. "Western" Reading not a Scribal Gloss

The omission of οἱ Ἕλληνες is easier to understand than its addition. Blinded, maybe, by a mistaken identification of Sosthenes with a friend

[1] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, S. 399.

of Paul, the scribe could not see the meaning of the words mentioned. There is no previous reference to the Greeks, but only to the riotous Jews. Hence the omission, and the later addition of the words "the Jews." As a gloss, "the Greeks" is hardly intelligible. Nothing in the chapter would suggest it to a copyist engaged in weighing words and occupied with surface distinctions, whilst much would preclude the suggestion. We must conclude, then, that the "Western" text here as elsewhere is justified by internal evidence and intrinsic probability.

CHAPTER XI

THE SABBATH WORKER

"ON the same day, seeing a certain man working on the Sabbath, he said unto him, 'Man, if indeed thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed, but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law'" (Codex Bezae, Luke vi. after verse 4).

I. VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF STORY

The story of the man working on the Sabbath is a fragment of early tradition concerning Jesus. It has been variously estimated. On the one hand, there is an almost general recognition of the suitability and fitness of the incident narrated to the person and character of our Lord; on the other, there is little acceptance of its Lucan authorship. Dr. Plummer observes:[1] "The words attributed to Christ are so unlike the undignified, silly, and even immoral inventions in the Apocryphal gospels, that we may believe that the traditional story is true." Professor Burkitt is more cautious:[2] "We cannot trace back the literary history of these tales with any assurance, but they do not read like the inventions of an annotator." And Bousset is more confident:[3] "There is little reason to doubt

[1] *Commentary on Luke*, p. 68.
[2] *Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 8.
[3] *Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 139.

that Jesus uttered this bold word." Marti's judgement seems safe:[1] "It certainly gives us the impression of being an ancient and a genuine tradition." The contrary opinion, where we find it, apparently presupposes that sanction of Sabbath-breaking was too radical for one who came "not to destroy the law or the prophets but to fulfil."

Wellhausen, whose constant deference to the readings of Codex Bezae on the ground of their Aramaic colouring is a valuable tribute to the authority of its text, is a conspicuous exception. He regards the verse as an addition because of the phrase "on the same day."[2] The original narrator, he argues, had no occasion to cling to the unity of time, but could say as in vi. 6, "on another Sabbath." He thinks too that the sanction of Sabbath-working does not go beyond the proposition that "man is Lord of the Sabbath," though whether Jesus drew this inference is another question.

The latter statement rests upon the assumption that "Son of Man" here is equivalent to "man" as in the corresponding section in Mark. This, however, is highly debatable, and will be mentioned later. In regard to time reference, ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ rather gains in point if it is preceded by τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. A tradition that two events of somewhat similar character occurred on the same day is not self-contradictory.

Zahn[3] takes exception to the story for reasons similar to those of Wellhausen. "The anecdote betrays by τῷ σαββάτῳ, which is intolerable after τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ—since according to verse 1 this day is a Sabbath—that the second statement of time originally belonged to the anecdote; the first state-

[1] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv. col. 4174.
[2] *Das Evangelium Lucae*, p. 20.
[3] *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. Tr.), iii. 37.

ment, however, was added to help in fitting it into the present connection."

But is it not plain that *τῷ σαββάτῳ* is intended not so much to date the incident as to emphasise the startling fact that the man was a Sabbath worker? The omission of the words would decrease the force of the saying that follows, for the sake of which Luke preserved the story. A parallel to the Bezan use of the words is found a little later, vi. 7, where we read *παρετηροῦντο δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εἰ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει*, although it is stated in verse 6 that the time is the Sabbath, whether we read with the "Neutral" text *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ* or with D *καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν σαββάτῳ*.

Scrivener[1] objects rather to the form than to the content of the story. "As it stands it is one of the most interesting uncanonical sayings imputed to our Lord." "If the antithesis were but less pointed," the story "might be deemed not wholly unworthy of the Divine Teacher." But, as Wendt observed,[2] Jesus "delights in putting judgements and instructions in the form of crisp pointed sentences, containing specially an antithesis or corresponding relation." In this respect he "has manifestly followed the traditional form of the proverbial wisdom of the Jews, which, as proved by the treatise in the Mischna, entitled Pirke Aboth, was also employed by the scribes in the time of Jesus."

II. The Incident described—Rabbinical Sabbatarianism

It is not necessary to assume that Jesus saw the man working in the corn-fields through which he passed, but that view is not impossible. Jewish

[1] *Bezae Codex Cantab.* p. 41.
[2] *The Teaching of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), i. 139, 140.

regulations regarding Sabbath labour constituted an important subject of debate amongst the rabbis, the more liberal of whom were not far removed from Jesus on this question. The rabbinical doctrine, in fact, was too strict to be rigidly enforced, and various forms of evasion, practised by the common people, were allowed. "For example, a farmer wanted to move a sheaf in his field. That was carrying labour: but if he laid on it a spoon in common use, then as he might move the spoon, he might move the sheaf in order to transport the spoon." [1]

If Jesus did see such a subterfuge as this as he passed through the corn-fields, his address to the Sabbath worker was a veiled reproof, and the silence of the Pharisees, who apparently accompanied him, becomes intelligible.

Truly "Jesus revered the Sabbath as he revered the other religious traditions of his people; but he had also a freedom of inspiration which put a new life into his interpretation of the Sabbath law." [2]

III. Theories of Origin of the Story

The verse has been assigned to authors known and unknown. Zahn attributed it to Papias; Grotius deemed it an interpolation by some Marcionite. Hort regarded it as "possibly from the same source as the section on the woman taken in adultery." Meyer was inclined, with Resch, to think it belonged to the oldest collection of stories and sayings of Jesus. Without venturing on any hypothesis of origin, Burkitt says "the story is certainly not a genuine portion of the third gospel," whilst Dr. Plummer goes further and denies that it is part of the Canonical Gospels.

[1] Carpenter, *Life in Palestine*, p. 125.
[2] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. iv. col. 4173.

IV. Its apt Inclusion in Luke vi.

If this passage is included in the sixth chapter of Luke's Gospel, there is then formed a group of three independent narratives setting forth Christ's conception of Sabbath observance as opposed to current scribal doctrine, each of which supplements the other. The act of plucking corn on the Sabbath was not itself forbidden by the law, but the scribes had made the action illegal by bringing it under the general category of work, which was so forbidden. Jesus appeals to what is higher than the law, namely, the necessities of our human nature, and urges a precedent which his accusers dare not deny: the case of David and his followers eating shewbread in the house of God. He then boldly examines the position of a man distinctly said to be working on the Sabbath, and finally declares the pains and penalties in the light of a principle, displayed in his own action of healing on the Sabbath: "It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day." The Sabbath worker is blessed, if he acts of purpose and from necessity, with a good conscience, as David did when he took the shewbread, or as the disciples when they plucked the ears of corn, or as their Master when he healed on the Sabbath day. The farmer who gets in his hay on a sunny Sabbath in a wet summer may be seeking to serve the same purpose of saving life as the good Physician in the synagogue.

On the other hand, those who work in sheer lawlessness, or for mere selfish gain or pleasure, are under the curse of the law.

The presence of the story in the third gospel throws light upon Luke's characteristics as a writer, and upon his industry in research. It confirms, in many ways, the impression which his treatment of

sources makes upon the mind of Harnack and others. Luke did not hesitate to correct, paraphrase, and add, nor even to interpolate passages, in his handling of the sources of his gospel, though, as we have seen, he was largely influenced by authorities of which no trace survives outside his work.

Bernhard Weiss assigns Matt. xii. 5-8 to "Q," and Mr. Allen to the "Matthean Logia."

It is permissible to conjecture that whilst the third evangelist has omitted what Matthew gives in xii. 5-7 because he recognised that "it had nothing to do with the plucking of the ears of corn by the disciples,"[1] he added the more closely related incident of the Sabbath worker, which was a "hard saying" for Matthew, and thus completed the narratives respecting Sabbath observance.

Another interesting example of Luke's practice may be seen in his treatment of the saying in Matt. vii. 1 (cp. Luke vi. 37, 38), "Judge not that ye be not judged." Luke adds not merely the words, "Condemn not and ye shall not be condemned," but the whole of the following verse. For Mark's gospel, his other source, he shows no greater respect. To Mark's brief account of John the Baptist are added the questions of those who attended upon the ministry of John—tax-gatherers, soldiers, and the rest—and the answers they severally received, an addition based on the authority of "Q."

V. Language of Story Lucan

The language and phraseology of the fragment are those of the third evangelist. Blass adduces from the one verse no fewer than nine Lucan words and phrases. Harnack declares that[2] "the use of

[1] B. Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lucasevangeliums*, S. 151 ff.
[2] *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 11.

participles in place of infinitive or finite verb belongs to Luke's style." There are two in this verse. The vocative ἄνθρωπε in Christ's address to the Sabbath-breaker is amongst the "characteristic words of Luke's gospel" mentioned by Sir John Hawkins.[1] Such words are either (*a*) not found at all in Matthew or Mark, or (*b*) are found in Luke at least twice as often as in Matthew and Mark together. The figures are—Luke 4, Romans 3, James 1. It is noteworthy that James and Paul, who, in the opinion of Dr. Plummer, derived the phrase παραβάτης νόμου from this fragment, should alone use the word characteristic of Luke which this verse contains. Further, "the remarkable similarities between Luke's gospel and the Pauline Epistles"[2] exhibited by Hawkins are reflected also here. The word ἐργάζομαι is found in Luke, as in Mark, but once, against four times in Matthew and seven in John; but it occurs three times in Acts and eighteen times in Paul. The similarities between Luke and Paul must be allowed their full weight, and even more, the common authorship of Luke and Acts.

Again, the use of the phrase εἰ δὲ μή is rather rare. Dr. Moulton[3] finds four examples of it in simple conditions with verb expressed, three of them undoubtedly from Paul and the fourth from the letter to Timothy. Lastly, the single word in this verse not found in Luke, ἐπικατάρατος, is twice used by Paul.[4] The Apostle, truly, is in both instances quoting from the law. But his first quotation is precisely that to which our Lord is referring, namely, LXX Deuteronomy xxvii. 26,

[1] *Horae Synopticae*, p. 14.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 154.
[3] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 271.
[4] Galatians iii. 10, 13. For form of quotation by Paul see Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 248-9.

Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου ποιῆσαι αὐτούς.

VI. Incident sheds Light on Relations to Law of Christ and Paul

This verse, then, affords a hint of the relations between Jesus and Paul. Jesus alludes to the Deuteronomic passage in order to emphasise the truth that he who is under the law must pay the penalties it imposes upon all transgressors. Paul quotes the Mosaic pronouncement for the same purpose, but adding the thought which had emerged in his own experience, that it is impossible to fulfil the requirements of the law. The difference is that between the statements of a simple Galilean and one who had been of the strictest sect of the Pharisees. Again, "The saying of Jesus here reported has," says Bousset,[1] "its echo in the Pauline phrase 'Whatsoever is not of faith (*i.e.* of moral conviction) is sin.'" Dr. Sanday, in his *Commentary on Romans*,[2] explains the Apostle's words in the same sense: "Faith is subjective, the strong conviction of what is right, and of the principles of salvation." "Weakly to comply with other persons' customs without being convinced of their indifference is itself sin." "Faith is used somewhat in the way we should speak of 'a good conscience,' everything which is not done with a clear conscience is sin." It is the ancient exegesis of Aquinas: *Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est, id est, omne quod est contra conscientiam.* Dr. Drummond,[3] writing on the Pauline passage, might even be understood as explaining the words of Jesus. "This means that whatever a man does against his conviction of what is right is sin,

[1] *Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 139. [2] P. 394.
[3] *Handbooks to the New Testament*, ii. 347.

although the act, considered in the abstract, may be perfectly innocent." The man working on the Sabbath without any inward sanction cancelling the prohibition of the law was, in the opinion of Paul as well as Jesus, cursed as a transgressor of the law.

VII. Story not dependent on Paul, and consistent with Christ's Teaching

"It is more probable," as has been observed,[1] "that the ideas in the Roman passages rest upon an utterance of Jesus known to the Apostle than that the saying attributed to Jesus in D should be an invention resting on the utterance of Paul."

That Paul was acquainted with various logia of our Lord has been shown elsewhere.[2] Bernhard Weiss,[3] indeed, doubts whether the saying is in harmony with the attitude of Jesus towards the law. But surely the Agrapha of the Sabbath worker is distinctly consistent with Christ's teaching in Matt. xii. 12 which declared it "lawful to do good on the Sabbath day." "It upholds the spirit of the law, while it shows a proper reverence for that well-being of mankind, which our Lord maintains is the true purpose of the law of the Sabbath when he says 'The Sabbath was made for man.'"[4]

The early Church seems to have treasured Christ's sentiment on Sabbath observance which this Agrapha expresses. The logion discovered in 1897,[5] *ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα*, many scholars interpret metaphorically of spiritual observance, as though Jesus meant that "the right way of keeping the Sabbath was

[1] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv. col. 4174, note 2.
[2] See "Luke the Reporter," pp. 190-91.
[3] *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lucas*, S. 363.
[4] Holdsworth, *Gospel Origins*, p. 47.
[5] *Oxyrhynchus Payri*, i. No. 1.

determined not by the clock or by the almanac, but by the soul." [1]

There are several patristic illustrations of this view, *e.g.* Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryphon.* 2) observes: "The new Law wishes you to sabbatise continually, and ye while ye do no work throughout one day imagine that ye act piously. This is because ye do not understand why the command was given you."

VIII. Why omitted from MSS. of "Neutral" Text

One difficulty remains: assuming the authorship of Luke, why is the story told in Codex Bezae only? Blass finds that the omission of the section from Oriental manuscripts fits in with his theory of the two Lucan editions of the gospel and Acts. "It is quite credible that Luke preferred to leave out this saying in the forms of his gospel destined for Oriental congregations, a very considerable part of which consisted of Jews, whilst in Rome there was no cogent reason for omitting it." [2] We may accept the conclusion without the premises whence it is drawn. On other grounds it is difficult to adopt the theory of the two editions. All the omissions and additions in the Bezan text of Luke and Acts cannot be explained as due to the character of the recipients of the two editions, or to considerations of style, much less does the theory account for similar phenomena in other books of the New Testament.

But undoubtedly the episode of the Sabbath-breaker has been rescued by the Gentile Church as the work of the Gentile evangelist. The verse, being objectionable to Eastern Christians, was quietly excised by some scribe, a process made

[1] Cobern, *The New Archaeological Discoveries*, p. 214.
[2] Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 59.

easier by its absence from the other gospels. Its almost complete disappearance from existing MSS. may also be partly due to another fact. "It ceased to be understood when the Christian Sunday had become an institution, and so was thrust out of canonical Church tradition." [1]

The omission of the anecdote from Mark may be accounted for in various ways. In the corresponding passage of Matthew there is a narrative containing points in the discussion between Jesus and his adversaries which are not preserved in Mark or Luke. Apparently, then, there was some tradition on the subject of the Sabbath which Mark did not use, from ignorance or from some other motive. Loisy thinks the omission [2] "can be explained by a reason analogous to that which led to the suppression of the story of the woman taken in adultery; timid consciences were disturbed thereby." Whether Mark or unknown copyists must be credited with timidity is not clear, but the attitude of Luke towards the older writer suggests at least the former alternative. Luke, says Harnack, virtually condemns Mark as "wrong in its order of events, too unspiritual and imperfect, and incorrect." [3] "Of those persons only cursorily sketched or not sketched at all in Acts, Mark is the only one of whom we learn anything discreditable." [4]

Perhaps the fact that Mark was "of the circumcision" [5] may partly explain these somewhat strained relations, and entirely elucidate the absence of the story of the Sabbath-breaker from the second gospel.

[1] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. iv. col. 4174.
[2] *Les Évangiles synoptiques*, p. 523.
[3] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), p. 158.
[4] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 123-4.
[5] Colossians iv. 11.

IX. Significance of another "Western" Variant in Context

Another change in the Bezan MS. coming from the same hand and the same tradition as the fragment under discussion is the transposition to the end of verse 10, Luke vi. 5, "And he said unto them, the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath." In Mark, the expression "Son of Man" is used in a general sense as equivalent to "man." Luke, writing later and in the fuller light of the Messianic doctrine, omits the qualifying words which link Jesus and his disciples with David and them that were with him, and transposes the "Son of Man" verse to the end of the series of Sabbatical stories. By so doing he connects it more closely with the healing in the synagogue, a miraculous act on the part of Jesus alone, and thus lends some sanction to the Messianic force of the phrase. Copyists who followed, when verse 5 had been dropped as giving offence in the East, possibly under the influence of Mark and Matthew, brought the Son of Man passage into relation with the first of the Sabbath stories, where it stands in the manuscripts generally. It is unnecessary here to examine the much-disputed question of the origin and reference of the phrase "Son of Man." It is sufficient to show that Luke betrays the influence of the more highly developed content of the phrase as compared with Mark. Finally, with this significant transposition, a fitting climax is provided for the three narratives on Sabbath observance by an historian, whose style, logic, and industry are illustrated, not less than his attitude to Jewish law and indebtedness to Paul, in the single verse which the Western Church has saved, relating the story of the man working on the Sabbath.

CHAPTER XII

LUKE AND THE "WISDOM OF SOLOMON"

I. Introduction

Between the latest book of the Old Testament and the earliest of the New Testament there passed a period of not less than 150 years, within which something like a revolution took place in the cultus, doctrine, and polity of Judaism. Perplexing problems, almost non-existent for the ancient Hebrew writers, were created by political and spiritual experiences during an age of persecution. A fresh, and what might fairly be called a modern, form was given to men's conceptions of Providence and the Divine purpose in history. The doctrine of Gospels and Epistles owes much every way to the generations which produced the Apocrypha. The evangelists must have known, and appreciated, some of the books now called Apocryphal. And this is certain—they addressed themselves to people familiar with them. Of these works, the "Wisdom of Solomon," written in Greek by a Jew, seems to have been one which influenced Luke, the Gentile evangelist.

This pseudonymous book, the work of an unknown Alexandrian about the beginning of the first century B.C., is considered by some scholars to fall into two or more parts. Its unity is still not generally abandoned, and in any case Luke almost certainly,

if he knew it at all, knew it in the same form as we do.

It is a book which has exercised a singular fascination for Christians from the first, and, like the rest of the Apocrypha, it was included in the Bible of the Church universal until the time of the Reformation.

II. Wisdom used by (*a*) Paul, (*b*) Author of Hebrews, (*c*) other N.T. Writers

"The unquestionable acquaintance of Paul with the book"[1] is now seldom denied. Drs. Sanday and Headlam, in their *Commentary on Romans*, set forth some striking linguistic parallels between the Epistle and Wisdom, and carefully estimate the way in which the one was influenced by the other.

"It will be seen that while on the one hand there can be no question of direct quotation, on the other hand the resemblance is so strong, both as to the main lines of the argument and in the details of thought and to some extent of expression, as to make it clear that at some time in his life St. Paul must have bestowed upon the Book of Wisdom a considerable amount of study."[2]

The unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews so manifestly came into contact with Wisdom as to lead some scholars to suppose that both books were the work of one man, Apollos. Though this ascription of the apocryphal book to the "eloquent" Alexandrian cannot be established, yet the coincidences between Hebrews and Wisdom "are too numerous to be accidental."[3] In the words of the Bishop of Winchester, "It certainly appears extremely probable that the writer of the

[1] Siegfried, *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 930.
[2] *Commentary on Romans*, p. 52.
[3] Peake, *Commentary on Hebrews*, p. 35.

Epistle to the Hebrews was acquainted with the Book of Wisdom."[1] Parallels in thought and language to what is contained in Wisdom may be found also in the fourth Gospel, in the Epistle of James, and elsewhere in the New Testament.

III. Early Christian References to Wisdom

The Muratorian Fragment on the Canon (*circa* A.D. 180) definitely refers to Wisdom, where we expect only the *Antilegomena* of the New Testament. Eusebius[2] gives a parallel to this reference in his account of Clement of Alexandria. It is plain that amongst early Christians Wisdom was treated with a peculiar reverence. For such veneration there are good reasons.

Apart from his lofty doctrine concerning God, Man, and Immortality, the conception of wisdom by Pseudo-Solomon represents "the most highly developed pre-Christian orthodox speculation on the subject of an intermediary between God and the world."[3] "There can be little doubt that the speculations of the writer of the Book of Wisdom helped to provide the categories for the Christian interpretation of Christ."[4]

IV. Luke's Interest in Teaching and Language of Wisdom

The third evangelist and author of Acts was not primarily interested in speculative questions, nor did the plan and purpose of his writings admit of their discussion. Howbeit it should not be forgotten

[1] *International Journal of Apocrypha*, 1908, p. 5.
[2] *H.E.* v. 8.
[3] Gregg, *Commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon*, p. liv. v.
[4] Andrew, *The Apocryphal Books*, p. 42.

that, of Synoptic writers, Luke in his Christology approaches nearest to the Johannine type,[1] a type which assuredly does betray the influence of Wisdom.

As the friend and companion of Paul, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Luke would be introduced to a book which the Apostle evidently read with pleasure and profit, if indeed, still earlier, the Jewish proselyte of Antioch had not made its acquaintance for himself. Apparently Paul wrote to the Romans whilst he was staying at Corinth (Acts xx. 2, 3). Before this Apostle and Evangelist had journeyed together, and if the "Western" text of Acts xi. 28 be followed, their friendship dates back almost to the time of Luke's conversion to Christianity at Antioch. A Greek like Luke, of considerable culture and capacity, might well have read Wisdom whilst still a disciple of the Jewish law. A book like Wisdom, in many ways sympathetic towards Greek thought, may have played no small part in the proselytising of such a man as Luke. Certainly, if it came within his view, the style and character of Pseudo-Solomon's composition would make an appeal to one of the most scholarly of New Testament writers, for "no other part of the Apocrypha can compare in literary quality with the first chapters of the Book of Wisdom. The writer uses Greek with the freedom of one to whom it is a native language. He does not write formal poetry, but beauty of expression and richness of language are well-marked features of his work."[2]

To Luke, the Christian evangelist, certain passages of Wisdom would be especially attractive. Take for example chap. ii. verses 13-16:

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[1] See Harnack, *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), App. pp. 226 ff.
[2] Stevenson, *Commentary on Wisdom*, p. xli.

He professeth to have knowledge of God,
And nameth himself servant of the Lord.
He became to us a reproof of our thoughts.
He is grievous unto us even to behold,
Because his life is unlike other men's,
And his paths are of strange fashion.

. . . . . .

The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy;
And he vaunteth that God is his father.

For though not, in the manner of Matthew, continually looking to the Old Testament for light upon the life of Jesus, Luke was by no means without interest in Hebrew prophecy. In words which we can understand, if not adopt, Augustine declared that in the Wisdom of Solomon "the passion of Christ is most definitely prophesied."

Of actual quotation from Wisdom by Luke we find no trace, for the words attributed to "the wisdom of God" [1] cannot be found in the Apocryphal book of that name, or, indeed, in any other.

The fact is that too much is commonly made of the freedom which New Testament writers exercised in regard to the Hebrew Canon. There are undoubtedly two or three references to extra-canonical books in the New Testament, but with the exception of Jude's quotation from the Book of Enoch there is no unquestionable instance of quotation from Apocryphal books by canonical writers.

V. Dependence of Luke shown in his Teaching and Vocabulary

We must look for signs of Luke's dependence upon Wisdom where we find them in Paul, namely in his thought and vocabulary.

As an historian, Luke would naturally be

[1] Luke xi. 49.

interested in the Pseudo-Solomon's interpretation of Providence in history much more than in his philosophic attempt "to bring the infinite and eternal into these relations of space and time which are implied in the creation and government of the world of sense." [1]

Nevertheless, in the speeches of Paul shaped by Luke [2] the philosophy of Wisdom is frequently present. Thus Barnabas and Paul at Lystra are reported to have exhorted the people [3] "to turn from these vain things to the living God, who made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is: who in the generations gone by suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways. And yet he left not himself without a witness, in that he did good, and gave you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness."

We may compare the argument from the created world to the character of its creator in the thirteenth chapter of Wisdom, beginning, "For verily all men by nature were but vain who had no perception of God. And from the good things that are seen they gained not power to know him that is, Neither by giving heed to the works did they recognise the artificer."

Again, the Pseudo-Solomon "propounds his doctrine of Wisdom as a fundamental unifying principle, which co-ordinates Greek thought with Hebrew revelation, and correlates (as functions of the same being) the various operations of creative activity, guidance of history," and "moral elevation of mankind." [4]

For the same conception not of "wisdom" but of God, we may turn to Paul's address to the

[1] Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, i. 225.
[2] See "Luke the Reporter," pp. 175 ff.
[3] Acts xiv. 5-17.
[4] Gregg, *Commentary on Wisdom*, p. xxiv.

Athenians. God "made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he is not far from each one of us; for in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring."[1] The reference in this passage to the heathen seeking God is paralleled in Wisdom xiii. 6, "For they peradventure do but go astray while they are seeking God and desiring to find him."

The tirade against Egyptian idolatry in which Wisdom indulges is summed up in the verses which immediately precede and follow those quoted above. "The God that made the world and all things therein, he being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is he served by men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he himself giveth to all life, and breath, and all things." Being then the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and device of man.[2]

Turning more directly to their interpretation of history, the resemblance between the two writers becomes more apparent. Drs. Sanday and Headlam have laid stress upon the likeness between Wisdom chaps. x.–xix. and Romans chaps. ix.–xi. and also exhibited their differences. "If St. Paul learnt from the Book of Wisdom some expressions illustrating the Divine power, and a general aspect of the question; he obtained nothing further." "It is interesting to contrast a Jew who has learnt many maxims which conflict with his nationalism but yet retains all his narrow sympathies, with the Christian

[1] Acts xvii. 26-28. [2] Acts xvii. 25, 29.

Apostle full of broad sympathy and deep insight, who sees in human affairs a purpose of God for the benefit of the whole world being worked out."[1] Following probably in his master's steps, Luke did not servilely copy the Alexandrian Jew. It was impossible for a Christian historian so to do. The author of Acts had in one sense a narrower, in another a broader view of the operations of God in history. He was not limited, in his outlook, to the Jewish race, but, on the other hand, it was not so much the Supreme Power making for righteousness as a particular manifestation of the spirit of Christ that he sought to make plain. The idea round which he grouped his materials was, in the words of Harnack,[2] "the power of the spirit of Jesus in the Apostles manifested in history." From this he seldom departed, and it is one of many debts which students of the New Testament owe to the great German scholar that he has furnished them with a key by means of which they may understand the movements and marvels, the sayings and doings, and even the periods of silence, of the first protagonists of Christianity.

So far as the narrative and speeches of the first part of Acts are translations from earlier Aramaic sources, their content must be attributed to an earlier writer than Luke, but since he was more than a mere translator, at least the selection, presentation, and grouping of the materials in Acts i.–xv must be credited to him.

The points where Wisdom and Acts are in agreement must be considered in some detail. As the Pseudo-Solomon views the march of history "the consequences of evil are mainly external and present."[3] The second half of the book is "a record

[1] *Commentary on Romans*, p. 269.
[2] *Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. Tr.), p. xviii.
[3] Hughes, *Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, p. 286.

of historical illustrations of the theory that unrighteousness is punished, and righteousness rewarded, by adversity or prosperity in the present life." [1] That this idea of the progress of Christian evangelisation is a subsidiary one in the mind of Luke needs no proof. But that it was by no means absent is shown by the numerous instances in Acts of the punishment of evildoers and the recompensing of the righteous.

Ananias and Sapphira who lied to the Apostles were straightway struck by death. Blindness fell upon the persecuting Saul of Tarsus who "breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord."

King Herod, "who put forth his hands to afflict certain of the Church" and accepted the blasphemous homage of his courtiers, "was smitten by an angel of the Lord" and "gave up the ghost." Elymas, the sorcerer, "who withstood the Apostles, seeking to turn aside the proconsul of Cyprus from the faith," was touched by "the hand of the Lord" and "immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness." The Jews, who dragged Paul before the judgement seat of Gallio, succeeded only in inducing the Greeks to lay hold of Sosthenes, their leader and ruler of the Synagogue, whom they beat in the presence of the proconsul.[2]

On the other hand, the miraculous escapes of the Apostles from prison and from many perils by land and sea are highly significant. The words of Gamaliel to the Jewish Council in regard to the Apostles are inspired by the conviction of the author of Wisdom. Not less do they express the mind of Luke. "Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown: but if it is of God, ye

[1] Hughes, *Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, p. 286.
[2] See "The Indifference of Gallio," p. 224.

will not be able to overthrow them, lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." [1]

The scorn and sarcasm with which Egyptian idolatry is abused in what may be called the historical sections of Wisdom are present, though chastened and softened by sympathy and humour, in Luke's allusions to paganism.[2]

In his "other worldliness," Wisdom so directly contradicts Ecclesiasticus [3] that many scholars suppose the Alexandrian set himself "to controvert some of the positions taken up" by the Palestinian writer. Luke, at any rate, is on the side of the Pseudo-Solomon as is shown by his parable of the rich fool.[4]

The words of Wisdom xvi. 26—

> That thy sons whom thou lovest, O Lord, might learn
> That it is not the growth of the earth's fruits that nourisheth a man,
> But that thy word preserveth them that trust in thee

are parallel to the introduction to this parable of the rich man with full barns. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth" (Luke xii. 15).

VI. Similarities of Phrase

The concluding words of the same parable, which is peculiar to Luke, suggest an idea, found in Wisdom and probably due to Greek influence, that man "is required to render back the soul which was lent him." [5]

Sometimes both the tone and language of Wisdom seem familiar to readers of the third

[1] Acts v. 38-39. [2] See "Luke the Humorist," p. 153.
[3] Cf. Wisdom ii. 1-6, and Ecclesiasticus ii. 23, iii. 19, 20, i. 11, vi. 12, ii. 24.
[4] Luke xii. 16-21. [5] Wisdom xiii. 8.

gospel. In the seventh chapter, Solomon speaks of the riches of wisdom and adds (verse 14):

For she is unto men a treasure that faileth not,
And they that use it obtain friendship with God,
Commended to him by the gifts which they through discipline present to him.

After comparing the wisdom of the sons of this world with that of the sons of light, in another parable found only in Luke—The Unjust Steward—Jesus says to his disciples, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles." [1]

The personification of Justice (ἡ δίκη) and the conception of it as an avenger, which is found three times in Wisdom,[2] occurs once in a "we" section of Acts.[3] "No doubt," said the barbarians of Melita to one another as they saw a viper fasten on the hand of Paul, "no doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped from the sea, yet Justice hath not suffered to live."

VII. Similarities of Doctrine

In their doctrine of God, there are in Acts one or two elements which resemble those in Wisdom. Both books teach that with strict impartiality God looks upon men of different kinds and conditions.

For the Sovereign Lord of all will not refrain himself for any man's person,
Neither will he reverence greatness;
Because it is he that made both small and great,
And alike he taketh thought for all.

Wisdom vi. 7.

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[1] Luke vi. 9. [2] i. 8, xi. 20, xiv. 31.
[3] Acts xxviii. 4.

"Of a truth," says Peter (Acts x. 34, 35), "I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him."

Psalms (lxxxii. 2) and Job (xxxiv. 19) teach the same great truth, and these works may be the sources of the doctrine in Wisdom and Acts, but it is not impossible that the Alexandrian writing influenced the Christian historian. There is perhaps less doubt that Luke, like Paul, (Romans iii. 25) knew the following words (Wisdom xi. 23, 24):

But thou hast mercy on all men, because thou hast power to do all things,
And thou overlookest the sins of men to the end they may repent.

The parallel in Acts (xvii. 30) is very close:

The times of ignorance therefore God overlooked, but now he commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent.

In their doctrine of the future life, Luke and the Pseudo-Solomon have some things in common. To the argument of Jesus with the Sadducees, which Luke read in Mark, he makes the addition "For all live unto him" (xx. 38), thus emphasising more strongly the inference which may be drawn from the passage as a whole. Similarly, Wisdom (iv. 1) argues that virtue, since it has been known by God, can never be as though it had not been. There is in it, as it were, an eternal element. Another slight addition made by Luke, namely one of the woes appended to his version of the Beatitudes, is in harmony with what we read in Wisdom. "But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation" (vi. 24). Similarly speaking of those who had given themselves up to the enjoyment of their riches, Solomon says, "And if they

die quickly, they shall have no hope, Nor in the day of decision shall they have consolation" (Wisdom iii. 18). Howbeit, Wisdom teaches that the wicked, though "in anguish," possess a continued consciousness after death. They see themselves and the righteous whom they have despised in the light of reality, and learn, with sadness, that the time for repentance is past (v. 1, 2).

The Rich Man (in a parable peculiar to the third gospel) whilst "in anguish" sees Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and is made to realise the advantages that now rest with him who in his lifetime "was laid at his gate" and received only "evil things" (xvi. 19-31). The picturesqueness of the parable is entirely absent from the Jewish writing, whose author either "lacks imagination" or "prefers to dispense with vivid colouring and movement."[1]

VIII. Verbal Similarities

Finally, in the matter of words and phrases, there are many parallels to those in the Lucan writings to be discovered in the Wisdom of Solomon. Whilst these, of themselves, may prove little, yet in view of the *a priori* probabilities of the case, and the evidence set forth above, we are led to conclude that Luke knew and to some extent was influenced by what is the most remarkable of all the Apocryphal Books, namely the so-called Wisdom of Solomon.

EXCURSUS

(*a*) ἀδύνατος, powerless	Wisd. vii. 14	In N.T. only		Ac. xiv. 8.
ἀναλύειν, to return	,, ii. 1	,,	,,	Lc. xii. 36.
ἀντιπαρέρχεσθαι	,, xvi. 10	,,	,,	[different sense] Lc. x. 31, 32.
ἀντοφθαλμεῖν	,, xii. 14	,,	,,	Ac. xxvii. 15.

[1] Gregg, *Commentary on Wisdom*, p. 44.

διάγνωσις (technical expression for decision of a suit)	Wisd. xii. 18	In N.T. only	Ac. xxv. 21.
θηρίον (applied to a serpent)	,, xvi. 5	,, ,,	Ac. xxviii. 4, 5.
παραβολή, proverb	,, iii. 3	,, ,,	Lc. iv. 23.
συμβάλλεσθαι, to assist	,, v. 8	,, ,,	Ac. xviii. 27.
χρηστός, gracious	,, xv. 1	,, ,,	Lc. vi. 35.

	Wisdom.	Mt.	Mk.	Lc.	Ac.	Paul.	John.	Rest of N.T.
(b) διαλογισμοί	1	1	1	6	..	4	..	..
ἐργασία	1	..	..	1	4	..	..	..
κλῆρος	3	2	1	1	6	1	1	1
οἰκουμένη (inhabited world)	1	1	..	3	5	1	..	3
πνεῦμα ἅγιον	2	5	4	13	41	17	3	8
προπέμπειν	1	..	..	..	3	3	..	2
συνέχεσθαι	2	1	..	6	3	2	..	..

(c) ἀνέκλιπτης	Wisd. vii. 14	Cp. ἀνέκλειπτος, Lc. xii. 38.
ἁρπάζειν	,, iv. 11	For word and sense cp. Ac. viii. 38.
γεννήματα, produce	,, xvi. 19	Cp. Lc. xii. 18.
ἔκθεσις (technical term for exposing a child)	xi. 14; xviii. 15	Cp. Ac. xviii. 19, 21.
ἔνεδρον, ambush	,, xiv. 21	Cp. Ac. xxiii. 16, xxv. 3.
ἔξοδος, departure or death	,, iii. 2	In N.T. only Lc. ix. 31, 32, 2 Peter i. 15.
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (without obj. expr.)	,, vii. 7	Cp. Ac. vii. 59.
ἐτάζειν, to torture	,, ii. 19	Cp. ἀνετάζειν, Ac. xxii. 24, 29.
θεῷ	,, x. 5	For this use cp. Ac. vii. 20.
καταλογίζεσθαι	,, v. 5	For sense cp. Lc. x. 20.
ὀδύνη	,, iv. 19	Cp. ὀδυνᾶσθαι, Lc. iii., Ac. i.
ὁμοιοπαθής	,, vii. 3	In N.T. only Ac. xiv. 15, Jas. v. 17.
παροικία	,, xix. 10	Cp. Ac. xiii. 17.
σπάργανον	,, vii. 4	Cp. σπαργανοῦν, Lc. ii. 7, 12.
στεῖρα	,, iii. 3	In N.T. only Lc. i. 7, 26.
τοῦ δικαίου	,, iii. 10	,, ,, in the sense Lc. xii. 57, Ac. iv. 19, Col. iv. 1.
φιλάνθρωπος	,, xii. 19	Not in N.T. nor in O.T., but Lc. has φιλανθρώπως, Ac. xxvii. 3, φιλανθρωπία, Ac. xxviii. 3.

(*d*) *εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δίκαιος υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*	Wisd.	ii. 18	Cp. Ac. vii. 52.
ἡ πορεία, death	,,	iii. 3	Cp. *πορεύεται*, Lc. xvii. 2.
παρὰ θεῷ . . . παρὰ ἀνθρώποις	,,	iv. 1	Cp. Lc. ii. 52.
πρὸς καιρόν, "for a season" of a sudden growth	,,	iv. 4	Cp. Lc. viii. 13.
καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ὁ κλῆρος	,,	v. 5	Cp. Ac. xxvi. 18.
περιέρχεται ζητοῦσα	,,	vi. 16	Cp. Ac. xiii. 11.
ὁσιότης καὶ δικαιοσύνη	,,	ix. 3	Cp. Lc. i. 75.
πιστεύειν ἐπὶ	,,	xii. 4	Cp. Ac. ix. 42, xi. 17, xvi. 13, xxii. 18.
θεὸν ζητοῦντες	,,	xiii. 6	Cp. Ac. xvii. 27.
πρὸς ἀνατολήν	,,	xvi. 28	Cp. *πρὸς ἑσπέραν*, Lc. xxiv. 29.

CHAPTER XIII

PERICOPE ADULTERAE—THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY

I. Exalted Character of Narrative

The episode of the woman taken in adultery is so striking and suggestive that its apparent lack of authenticity passes almost unnoticed. There is good reason for this. It is safe to say that no known disciple of Jesus could have invented the story. As Sir John Seeley said,[1] "The conduct of Christ in it is left half explained, so that, as it stands, it does not satisfy the impulses which lead to the invention and reception of fictitious stories." Keim thought otherwise, and, regarding the story as [2] "very transparent clothing of an idea," attributed it to an unknown author "who imitated the forms, colours, surprises, and dramatic style of the fourth Gospel." With discreet reserve, however, he produced no literary proofs of this hypothesis.

The sublimity of the principal figure in the story, and his unique appeal to conscience may be seen by contrast with the creation of a modern poet. Mr. Hutton [3] thinks Tennyson has not shown himself a higher artist than in the important place which the conscience takes in his greater poems.

[1] *Ecce Homo*, Preface, p. v.
[2] *Jesus of Nazara* (Eng. Tr.), v. 16-19.
[3] *Literary Essays*, p. 397.

Yet, in the words addressed by his perfect knight to the repentant Guinevere, there is more than a suspicion of Pharisaism. To the punishment of a remorseful conscience is added condemnation, and the king declares that he loathes whilst he loves his sinning wife.

In the words of the agnostic Huxley,[1] "That touching epilogue, with its profound ethical sense, of the woman taken in adultery, if internal evidence were an infallible guide, might well be affirmed to be a typical example of the teachings of Jesus."

Wellhausen[2] protests against the suggestion that intrinsic value can guarantee the age and authenticity of a saying of Jesus such as occurs in "the apocryphal *pericope adulterae*." "If intrinsic value is to guarantee age and authenticity, then one is reminded of the legendary archaeologists, who recognised the genuineness of an antique because it made them cry when they looked at it. The testimony of the Holy Spirit is advanced as a principle of criticism. What goes to the heart, what exalts, affects, and strongly moves us proves itself to be authentic! Exegetic, literary and historical investigation is therefore superfluous."

Such criticism, however exaggerated, must be met.

What follows confirms, on textual and historical grounds, the impression which the story makes of its own authenticity.

The *pericope adulterae* is important, amongst other reasons, because it is the longest passage in the New Testament affected by Textual Criticism.

II. *Pericope* not Part of Fourth Gospel

That the story is not the work of the fourth evangelist is one of the sure results of scientific

[1] *Lectures and Essays*, p. 88. [2] *Einleitung*, 2te Aufl. S. 159.

study. The MSS. which omit the passage from John are not only more numerous but also much earlier than those which include it in that Gospel. The evidence of commentaries and version tells in the same direction.

The argument from silence is notoriously precarious, but in the case of Origen and Tertullian it has considerable weight in this instance. Origen in his commentary cites and comments on every verse John vii. 40-52, and then continues from viii. 12 in the same manner. Tertullian, disputing an edict of the Roman bishop on the forgiveness of adultery, declares, " If thou canst show me by what authority of heavenly examples or precept thou openest a door for penitence alone—our controversy shall be disputed on that ground." Tertullian, clearly, knew nothing of the *pericope adulterae* as holy scripture.

Internal evidence is not less conclusive than external. The style and vocabulary are not John's. His favourite words and expressions are absent, and the story breaks the thread of his narrative, which, without it, runs on quite smoothly.

III. Theories of Origin

To whom then should it be ascribed ? Must we be content with the dictum of Bousset [1] that it is a " piece of genuine but extra-canonical tradition," or shall we go further with Mr. Hammond [2] and declare it to be a " veracious, incorrupt record, yet not proceeding from the pen of the writer to whom it is ascribed " ?

Both views claim the support of eminent scholars. Whilst Jülicher [3] calls it " the noblest of agrapha,"

[1] *Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 142, note.
[2] *Textual Criticism*, p. 115, note *a*.
[3] *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. Tr.), p. 393.

Blass[1] finds a place for it in the Gospel according to Luke. Mr. Nicholson[2] in his work on the Gospel according to the Hebrews argues that the passage "substantially and perhaps even verbally" was originally part of that gospel, an opinion shared by Nestle and others. The chief authority for this is Eusebius[3] reporting a statement concerning Papias. It is necessary to examine this statement in some detail.

Ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει.

It is a passage that has been misread. Cassels[4] thus rendered it: "Eusebius informs us that Papias narrated from the Gospel according to the Hebrews a story regarding a woman accused before the Lord of many sins." Westcott[5] met this statement with an unequivocal denial: "It is not superfluous to observe that Eusebius does not say that Papias derived the narrative from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or that he used that Gospel at all. Indeed if Eusebius had known that Papias derived the narrative from this particular source, he would hardly have said 'a narrative which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains.'"

The force of this reasoning may have been felt, for in a later edition of *Supernatural Religion* the translation is corrected. The conclusion of Dr. Adeney[6] seems sound and convincing. "We cannot be certain that Papias used the Hebrews' Gospel. All that Eusebius tells us, is that he gives a story that is contained in it. He may have obtained this story by tradition from the elders, whose informa-

[1] *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 160.
[2] Pp. 52-58.
[3] *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39.
[4] *Supernatural Religion*, p. 73, note 1.
[5] *Canon of the New Testament*, p. xxiii.
[6] *Hibbert Journal*, iii. 146.

tion, he elsewhere informs us, he valued very highly. Still, there is some degree of probability that he used the book."

If Dr. Drummond [1] is right in his interpretation of the language of Papias, then with all his love for oral tradition, Papias had no insurmountable prejudice against the written word. There is therefore "some degree of probability" in the suggestion underlying the remarks of Westcott. The *pericope adulterae* may have been known to Papias in another place than the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Can he have been familiar with the passage in some other uncanonical Gospel? There is evidence pointing that way. An Athos MS., according to Mr. Lake,[2] asserts that the story of Christ and the woman taken in adultery occurred in the Gospel of Thomas. This Gospel, as we now know it, professes to give an account of the childhood of Jesus, and bears upon itself the stamp of legendary invention. Irenaeus [3] instances the story of our Lord confounding the schoolmaster who sought to teach him his letters, as an illustration of what is contained in "an unspeakable number of apocryphal and spurious writings" used by the Marcosians. Eusebius [4] mentions the Gospel according to Thomas in his list of "absurd and impious books." But apparently the Gospel existed in more forms than one. From an earlier version, Hippolytus,[5] a disciple of Irenaeus, quotes a remarkable passage, not found in the extant Gospel, which the Naasenes cherished as relating to the nature of the Kingdom of God within. "He who seeks me shall find me in children from seven years old; for there will I, who am hidden in the fourteenth aeon, be

[1] *Authorship of Fourth Gospel*, pp. 200 ff.
[2] *Studia Biblica*, ii. 173.
[3] *Adv. Haer.* i. 20.
[4] *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25.
[5] *Philosophumena*, v. 7.

manifest." "The undoubted difference between this saying and the fabulous contents of the Gospel that has been preserved, would be explained if," as, Dr. Tasker suggests,[1] "the Gospel quoted in Hippolytus were revised by an anti-gnostic editor, and abbreviated in accordance with his views."

Plainly, the primitive Gospel was more mystical than the later version. It was also connected in some way with the "Sayings of Jesus," discovered at Oxyrhynchus in 1903, the introduction to which makes mention of Thomas. The conclusion of the first "Saying" is quoted by Clement of Alexandria from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and some knowledge of it is shown in the "Acts of Thomas," which "may have been partly built upon the Gospel."[2] The second saying contains the remarkable words, *καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν.* "Kingdom of heaven," as in Matthew, is a synonym for Luke's "Kingdom of God." More important is the use of *ἐντός*, which is rare in the New Testament, occurring only twice. So unique and difficult is this word, that the discussion as to its meaning, says Dobschütz,[3] "goes through the whole history of interpretation, and will probably never come to a final decision." The saying obviously comes from Luke, where alone is found this mystic idea of the Kingdom of God as an inward experience. *Ἡ βασίλεια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν.* So far as it goes, this evidence points to some definite relation between the "Sayings," the earliest edition of the Thomas Gospel, the Hebrews' Gospel, and the Gospel according to Luke. The Gospel according to Thomas may have derived its story from that according to the Hebrews. It is also possible that

[1] *Dictionary of the Bible*, ext. vol. p. 432.
[2] Grenfell and Hunt, *New Sayings of Jesus*, p. 31.
[3] *Eschatology of the Gospel*, p. 130.

it came, like the idea of God within man, from the canonical Gospel.

Harnack argues that the Gospel according to Peter must have contained the story. Holding with other scholars that Justin Martyr used this Gospel, he dates it at the beginning of the second century. The references to Herod in the extant fragment of the Petrine Gospel betray indebtedness to the third gospel, though its chronology of the Passion and its attitude to the Jews are Johannine. The most that can be said is that if the Gospel according to Peter did contain the *pericope adulterae*, it may well have been taken from Luke's gospel.

Again, the oldest extant Apocryphal Gospel—The Protevangelium of James—in its present form a composite production, contains an allusion to the *pericope adulterae*. The sixteenth chapter tells how Joseph and Mary drank the water of the ordeal, and remained unhurt. It is founded upon Numbers v. 24, "He shall cause the woman to drink the water of bitterness." The ordeal was intended to prove whether adultery had been committed. *Καὶ ἐθαύμασεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὅτι ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἐφάνη ἐν αὐτοῖς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεύς· εἰ κύριος ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐφανέρωσε τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ κρίνω (κατακρίνω) ὑμᾶς.*

Origen refers to this Gospel, and, in the opinion of many scholars, Justin Martyr used it. In part, the Gospel is based on the Nativity narrative in Luke. This fact, taken together with the Lucan character of the phrases in the allusion to the *pericope*, raises the presumption that the author of Protevangelium Jacobi was acquainted with the story of the woman taken in adultery in the Gospel according to Luke, once we have reason to believe that the third Gospel contained such a story.

The fact that Papias makes no mention of Luke or Acts is generally regarded as indicating that he

was not acquainted with these writings. Lightfoot[1] notices some evidence that suggests the use of them by Papias, namely his reference to "Satan cast down to the earth" (cp. Luke x. 18), and his account of the death of Judas. Stress cannot, however, be laid upon these points. All we can say is that if on other grounds we find that the third Gospel contained the story of the woman taken in adultery, Papias may possibly have known Luke as well as the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

IV. Hebrews' Gospel—Age, Authenticity, Character

If the *pericope adulterae* is original to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and thence has passed into some MSS. of the Fourth Gospel, as Nestle and others suppose, our problem is solved, and we accept the authority of the passage whilst we deny its canonicity. As Jülicher says,[2] "if Papias endowed the passage with the authority of a John, the motive which induced the unknown copyist (perhaps in the third century) to insert it into the Fourth Gospel would not be far to seek." There is much virtue in that "if"! Recognition of a Johannine authority for the *pericope adulterae* is not to be discovered in Papias or in any other writer earlier than the fourth century.

That the Gospel according to the Hebrews is an ancient work need not be disputed. Harnack assigns it to the period 65–100, holding that it probably belongs to the beginning of this period and is earlier than both Matthew and Luke. Dr. Stanton[3] indicates its position in the primitive Church. "Never accounted apocryphal as others

[1] *Contemporary Review*, August 1867, p. 415.
[2] *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. Tr.), p. 393.
[3] *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, i. 216.

than the four were, amongst Hebrew Christians it was the one Gospel in common use."

"Internal and external evidence," says a recent writer,[1] "point strongly to the view that the Gospel of the Hebrews is an independent parallel version of the events described in the Synoptics (especially in St. Matthew) and possibly formed one of the sources in the hands of Luke."

Unfortunately, only a few scattered fragments remain to us, and of these some are obviously legendary in character. Yet the Gospel which gives as words of our Lord, "Never be glad except when you look on your brother with charity," and puts among the greatest offenders "the man who saddened his brother's spirit," might well have contained the interview between Jesus and the woman taken in adultery.

Whether the story appeared in the Gospel according to the Hebrews in the precise form in which it survives in John, is a question not easy to determine, notwithstanding the affirmatives of many scholars.[2] The following points may be noticed:

ἄλλην suggests this was a second story, and therefore that a first was known to Eusebius.

The word might possibly be understood with reference to the marvellous tales Papias relates on the authority of the daughters of Philip, but this is not a natural interpretation of *ἄλλην ἱστορίαν* in its context. Hence the judgement of Routh and Tregelles that the pericope was not inserted in a codex of the New Testament in the time of Eusebius is not beyond question.

πολλαῖς: whereas in the Johannine account one only is mentioned, namely adultery.

In Codex Bezae the woman's offence is described generally as *ἁμαρτία* instead of *μοιχεία*, yet still in the singular.

[1] *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, vi. 348.
[2] So Bacon, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 474, *n.* 1.

διαβληθείσης: in early Greek the verb means "to slander" but *Oxyr. Pap.* vol. viii. gives a third-century instance of the word meaning simply "to accuse." This is how Rufinus in his translation of Eusebius understood the word "aliam historiam de muliere adultera quae accusata est a Iudaeis apud Dominum."

διαβληθείσης suggests that the charge was not substantiated.

In the passage before us, there was no doubt of her guilt. She was taken ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ.

The form of the story of the adulteress as it appears in the oldest Armenian MS. which contains it, suggests indebtedness to the Hebrews' Gospel, and shows that a version other than that preserved in John was current in the Christian Church. The opening words are sufficient to prove this point. "A certain woman was taken in *sins*, against whom all *bare witness*, that she was deserving of death." The plural "sins," and the idea of evidence harmonize with the narrative as Papias apparently read it in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and not with that which we read in the Canonical Gospel.

Again, "we must discriminate," as Dr. Adeney [1] bids us, "between two questions that are not at all conterminous, the question of antiquity and the question of authority. It would be quite possible to allow greater antiquity for the Gospel according to the Hebrews and to judge it less reliable than the Gospels which came later. Luke in his preface treats his predecessors with scant courtesy."

V. Did Luke use Hebrews' Gospel?

The last sentence gives rise to an interesting train of thought. It is in Luke's gospel that Blass

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, iii. 147.

would rest the *pericope adulterae*. From that Gospel, it may have passed into the Gospel of Thomas. It is in Luke that the Ferrar group of MSS. actually gives the passage. And the entire narrative is indisputably Lucan in vocabulary and in spirit. Can it be that the author of the Gospel according to the Hebrews was one of the "many"[1] whose apparent lack of certitude led "the beloved physician" to take up his pen? Professor Bacon[2] certainly suggests that an important "Semitism" which Luke alone of New Testament writers makes use of, was taken over from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and Dr. Moulton[3] recognises that the secondary character of extant fragments "does not prevent our positing an earlier and purer form as one of Luke's sources."

Professor Lake,[4] on the other hand, reduces the "narratives drawn up by the many" to collections of Sayings similar to those discovered by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. But the λόγοι in which the first groups of Christians were "instructed" had for their object the demonstration of the Messiahship of Jesus, and this was effected, as Dr. Scott[5] has shown, by proofs drawn mainly from the Resurrection, from Old Testament Prophecy, and from Miracles. In other words, Luke[6] "evidently has in view compositions which aimed at giving a general account of the Gospel history, as his own did, though they were less full, and he regarded them as in some points less accurate than his own." If then, Luke had the Hebrews' Gospel before him as he wrote, in his report of the *pericope adulterae*, he was consciously endeavouring to arrive at

[1] Luke i. 1.
[2] *Expositor*, April 1905, p. 174, *n.*
[3] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 17.
[4] *Hibbert Journal*, iii. 338.
[5] *Apologetic of the New Testament*, pp. 42-6.
[6] Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 134.

certainty. He therefore took occasion, as he did with the text of Mark and of the *Logia*, to smooth the roughness, and improve the language. The πολλαῖς and διαβληθείσης of the Papias document may mark a degree of exaggeration in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the one heightening the offence of the woman, and the other, the perfidy of the scribes and Pharisees. Luke, characteristically enough, removes both, and tells the story in good Greek, as the language of the New Testament goes.

VI. Lucan Language in *Pericope*

The extraordinary verbal resemblances between Luke's Gospel and the *pericope adulterae* cannot escape the slightest examination.

When we consider the "words characteristic of Luke" found in the *pericope*, the result is astonishing. These words "occur at least four times in Luke, and either (*a*) are not found at all in Matthew or Mark, or (*b*) are found in Luke at least twice as often as in Matthew and Mark together." [1] Of such words, there are eleven in the twelve verses under consideration.[2] In addition, there is one word in the *pericope* found in Luke more often, though not twice as often, as in Matthew and Mark together, but in Luke and Acts four times as often as in Matthew and Mark together.[3] Another word, found in the "we" sections of Acts, and used predominantly, although not exclusively, in the rest of Acts and Luke, is used also in this story.[4] In all, six words of the *pericope* are found in the "we" sections of Acts.[5] The importance of the last phenomenon is increased by the fact that the "we" sections are more closely

[1] *Horae Synopticae*, p. 13.
[2] Excursus I. p. 282.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 282.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 282.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 283.

allied to Luke's Gospel, as Harnack has shown,[1] than are the remaining parts of Acts.

Πρεσβύτερος and πορεύομαι are used in a way that is Lucan.

Even this does not exhaust the points of likeness. "Ἐν μέσῳ" is an expression of which, Dr. Plummer says,[2] "Luke is fond, and elsewhere it is rare, except in Revelation." It occurs twice in the course of this short narrative, and with a significance that seems distinctly Lucan.[3] Again, certain linguistic tendencies which Harnack has observed to be prominent in Luke's treatment of "Q" are illustrated in the *pericope adulterae*.[4] Then there are the words διδάσκαλος and κύριος, by no means peculiar to Luke, though commonly employed by him in a context and with a force which are characteristic of their use in this section.[5] Finally, the language of the passage as a whole is predominantly Lucan. Two words, ἀνακύπτειν and ὄρθρου, are found elsewhere in the New Testament only in Luke and Acts, the former occurring twice in Luke, and the latter once in Luke and once in Acts. Moreover, the first named is a technical term used by medical writers, and is employed in the medical sense by Luke the Physician in the story of the woman with the spirit of infirmity.[6] To conclude this examination, it may be said that even the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, four in number in the *pericope adulterae*, have a distinct affinity to terms used by Luke rather than to those of any other Evangelist.[7]

Against all this Mr. Buckley only adduces as non-Lucan the historic present (ἄγουσιν) and the word πάλιν. The latter, common in Matthew and

[1] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), p. 83.
[2] Excursus II. pp. 283 ff.
[3] *Commentary on Luke*, pp. 218 ff.
[4] Excursus III. pp. 288 ff.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 288 ff.
[6] Luke xiii. 11. See Excursus III. p. 291.
[7] Excursus III. p. 290.

Mark, is found only eight times in Luke and Acts, and is omitted from Marcan passages by the third evangelist; the former, though by no means distinctive of Luke, occurs eleven times in the gospel and thirteen times in the history. Though he believes the *pericope adulterae* to have belonged to a Lucan source rather than to have formed part of the third gospel, Mr. Buckley[1] admits that "if it occurred in a larger number of MSS., or in any of the oldest uncials after Luke xxi. it would be easy to believe that that was its original home."

VII. Lucan Ideas in *Pericope*

When we turn from the frame and vehicle of ideas to the ideas themselves, we find in the Lucan writings parallels to the *pericope adulterae*. That Luke had a special interest in the poor and sinful is a commonplace of New Testament criticism. It is admirably expressed by Jülicher,[2] "One almost has the impression that the boundless charity towards sinners shown by this Gospel was to be compensated for by the equally exalted character of the demands made on the disciples." Of "boundless charity towards sinners" what better illustration can be conceived than Christ's treatment of the woman taken in adultery? Numerous writers have emphasised another characteristic of Luke, namely his sympathetic interest in women, their ways and works. Schmiedel writes:[3] "The important part played by 'devout women' in Acts prepares the reader for finding prominence assigned to them here. Luke alone gives us the songs of Mary and Elizabeth, and the testimony of Anna. The mother of the Lord (not Joseph) ponders in her

[1] *Introduction to the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 208-9.
[2] *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. Tr.), p. 335.
[3] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. ii. col. 1792.

heart the words of her Son, and her sufferings are made the subject of prophecy. Luke alone mentions the domestic anxieties of Martha and the devoted faith of her sister, the cure of the afflicted 'daughter of Abraham,' the woman who invoked a blessing upon the womb that bare Jesus, the story of her who 'loved much,' and the parable of the woman rejoicing over the lost piece of silver. Lot's wife is mentioned by him alone; nor do we find in any other Gospel the utterance of Jesus to the 'daughters of Jerusalem.' Mark and Matthew concur with Luke in pronouncing a blessing on the man who gives up father or mother or lands or houses for Christ's sake; but Luke alone adds 'wife.'" Harnack, therefore,[1] though with great hesitation, includes the *pericope adulterae* amongst those passages which show the prominent place of women in the third Gospel.

There is a further consideration. In this connection stress must be laid on the words "*αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ.*"[2] The absence of the other culprit, whether by the connivance of the Scribes and Pharisees or not, must have impressed the Evangelist even as it strongly moved Christ when called upon to condemn one probably more sinned against than sinning.

Luke seems also to have had almost an antipathy to legal procedure, and noted, as no other Synoptist, Christ's disinclination to act as judge. In the Gospel narrative, he alone relates the parable of the Unrighteous Judge, who "feared not God, and regarded not man."[3] In the Acts of the Apostles, the conduct of Gallio in declining to judge Paul is implicitly commended. Furthermore, the refusal of Jesus to act as judge is recorded only by Luke. "Man," said our Lord to one who sought his verdict

[1] *Luke the Physician* (Eng. Tr.), p. 155.
[2] John viii. 4.
[3] Luke xviii. 2.

in the matter of a disputed inheritance, "Man, who made me judge or divider over you?"[1] The Saying of Jesus in Matthew, "Judge not that ye be not judged" is strengthened by Luke's addition, "And condemn not and ye shall not be condemned."[2] In the Parable of the Pounds, peculiar to the third Evangelist, the lord convicts the wicked servant, not according to any code of law, but from his own confession, "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee."[3] Similarly, in the Lucan story of Christ's anointing by the sinful woman, Jesus sets aside the question of her character, relates the Parable of the two Debtors, and commends the judgement of Simon the Pharisee, which conscience compels him to express, "Thou hast rightly judged."[4]

Last but not least, Luke is our authority for Christ's assertion of the competence of conscience to adjudicate in litigious questions. "Why, even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?"[5] The phrase used here, *κρίνω τὸ δίκαιον*, used to be regarded as unique. Bernhard Weiss explains it to mean deciding about that which God demands from us. It is made clearer, however, by a prayer for vengeance addressed to Demeter which was found inscribed on a tablet of lead at Amorgus. There the goddess is implored to give right judgement. So Jesus advises those who would go to law with one another not to wait for the judge to speak but to become reconciled beforehand and thus put an end to the dispute by pronouncing "just judgement" themselves.[6] In a way, therefore, which Luke has made familiar to us, our Lord appeals to conscience in the case of the adulteress, and declines the office of judge. "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." "Neither do I

[1] Luke xii. 14. [2] *Ibid.* vi. 37. [3] *Ibid.* xix. 22.
[4] *Ibid.* vii. 43. [5] *Ibid.* xii. 57.
[6] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Eng. Tr.), p. 118.

condemn thee, go thy way, from henceforth sin no more."

Dr. Bacon,[1] then, states what is now fully proved when he says of the *pericope adulterae*, "It is of the very bone and flesh of Luke's unique material."

VIII. *Pericope* as Part of Luke's Peculiar Matter

Accepting the prevailing theory of the relations of the Synoptic Gospels, namely, the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark and "Q," there remain in the first and third Gospels, large sections, amounting to almost a quarter of the whole contents, which cannot be derived from these sources. In the materials thus collected by Luke, it is reasonable to suppose that his special interest would be most manifest. Such a supposition is more than justified. The parables of the Prodigal, the Pharisee and the Publican, and the Good Samaritan form part of the evangelical records peculiar to Luke. Even in his more minute additions, he is frequently faithful to this subjective interest. If the forgiving pity of our Lord extended towards the fallen woman was reported by Luke, the story will find a place, naturally and easily, amongst those passages of unmistakable authenticity, but of somewhat limited textual authority.

IX. Date of Incident: its Place in Discussions of Passion Week

The incident seems attached by two or three links to the week of the Passion. It is of a piece with the discussions about the tribute-money, and the discussion with the Sadducees on marriage and the resurrection. There is the same attempt made to

[1] *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 106.

elicit from our Lord some opinion hostile to law, practice, or belief, and the interrogation is couched in similar terms. The failure of the polite inquisitors to achieve their object is the same in all three cases, and the replies of Jesus are imbued with the same spirit. The questions submitted are scarcely considered, the discussion is lifted upon a higher plane, and a searching query indirectly addressed to the questioners. If the interview between Christ and the adulteress be admitted at the time thus suggested, it closes the series of attempts made by the Jewish authorities to catch Jesus in his talk.

The next scene introduces us at once to the betrayal by Judas. The Master had proved himself more than a match for his opponents even in the most delicate and difficult situation of all. A political question of taxation, and a speculative question of religion had failed of their purpose. A moral problem, gross and palpable, was then rudely thrust upon Christ's attention in the person of a woman taken in a shameful act. The first question was largely theoretical, the second entirely so, the third was a practical inquiry as to the punishment of a particular offender. Christ's opinion on tribute, and on the married state hereafter involved only himself. His answer to the last question addressed to him affected another person—a sinner and a woman. In many ways, the *pericope adulterae* marks a fitting climax to what precedes, and a preparation for what follows.

Bernhard Weiss [1] finds in the source peculiar to Luke (L) an account of Christ's discussion with his enemies about the tribute money. It would not be difficult to suppose that the *pericope adulterae*, if it properly follows Luke xxi. 38, came originally from such a source.

[1] *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*, S. 147 ff.

X. No Evidence for Capital Punishment of Adultery

There is one difficulty. No evidence exists for the infliction of capital punishment in a case of adultery. Lightfoot says,[1] "I do not remember that I have anywhere, in the Jewish Pandect, met with an example of a wife punished for adultery with death." Since stoning is specifically mentioned, it has been generally assumed that the woman in the story was betrothed; unfaithfulness on the part of a betrothed woman being liable, according to Deuteronomy xxii. 24, to death-punishment by stoning. Apparently, the law was more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The plot, therefore, consisted in putting Jesus on the horns of a dilemma, compelling him to declare for the revival of a law already obsolete, or give his sanction to the seeming infraction of the law, which divorce involved. The former alternative would be abhorrent to Christ, and hardly less to the magnanimous author of the third gospel. The latter alternative was one which Luke regarded with as little favour. The Marcan narrative dealing with the Mosaic law of Divorce, and our Lord's abrogation of that law, is omitted by Luke, possibly, as Sir John Hawkins suggests,[2] in order to "limit the amount of anti-Pharisaic controversy which he preserves." In the verse concerning divorce, which in the main he owes to "Q," Luke simply says, "Every man that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband, committeth adultery" (xvi. 18).

Probably the words καὶ γαμῶν ἑτέραν come from

[1] *Horae Heb. et Talmud ad Mt.* xix. 8.
[2] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 70.

Mark. In any case, Luke does not admit adultery as a sufficient ground for divorce. Matthew, on the contrary, interpolates the significant words μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ into the Marcan account, and the phrase παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας into the passage due to "Q." In other words, the first evangelist twice represents Jesus as sanctioning divorce for adultery. If Luke is the author of the *pericope adulterae,* his statement of Christ's attitude towards divorce is consistent with that reported elsewhere in his Gospel, and conflicts with the less primitive conception of our Lord's teaching in Matthew's Gospel.[1]

The first evangelist, indeed, apparently acquiesced in the Jewish teaching on the subject. Amongst the Jews at this period "the punishment for adultery was the divorce of the woman, who lost all her rights under the marriage settlement; the man was scourged."[2]

XI. Date and Scenery fit Luke xxi.

To return to the dating of the incident in the career of Christ; from Luke xxi. we learn that Jesus taught every day in the Temple and spent every night on the Mount of Olives. This exactly fits his practice as we observe it suggested in the *pericope adulterae.* And the language fits almost precisely, the πάλιν of John viii. 2 naturally referring back to Luke xxi. 38. (Excursus IV. pp. 297 ff.)

It is a mere coincidence due to common scenery that the Ferrar group of MSS. contains the *pericope* at this point of the Lucan narrative? The answer depends partly upon the character of those witnesses to the text, and partly upon more general considerations of the circumstances under which

[1] See p. 120 above.
[2] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* i. 130.

the Gospels were written. The Ferrar group comprises the minuscules 13, 69, 124, and 346. With these 556 agrees in the position of the *pericope* and generally in its text.[1] The first four have been shown to be descended from a common ancestor, an uncial of good character.

Huck includes in the Ferrar group the first four minuscules, together with 543, 788, 826-828, all of which add John vii. 53–viii. 11 after Luke xxi. 38.

According to Von Soden,[2] ten MSS. present the same type of text as the Ferrar group, and three others in a less perfect degree.

The text contains many readings of the "δ" type. In other words, there is a strain of "Western" influence in the stock.

The Abbé Martin and Dr. Rendel Harris argue for a Calabro-Sicilian origin. Von Soden includes the Ferrar group amongst the independent authorities for the earlier form of his "I" text, to which he attaches great importance, and which roughly corresponds with Hort's "Western" text.

The *pericope adulterae* belongs likewise to the "Western" type, and is found, as part of John's Gospel, in many MSS. of the "δ" text, notably in the Codex Bezae.

XII. Blass' Theory of *Pericope*

Blass[3] has gathered up this evidence with other curious facts in his theory of the two editions of the Lucan writings. According to this theory, the *pericope adulterae* must give up all claim to a place in the Eastern form of Luke, and content itself with the Roman edition; the section was deliberately

[1] Scrivener, *Introduction to Criticism of the New Testament*, i. 255.

[2] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Pt. I. sect. 2.

[3] *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 160.

omitted from the Eastern edition as being likely to offend the Jews. This is an ingenious hypothesis, and *prima facie* unties certain knots. How did the *pericope* pass from Luke to John? The answer is at once forthcoming: the Church of Rome early in the second century purged its records of this passage in order to promote uniformity. The story then survived as an appendix to Luke or to the Gospels in general. "Some authoritative person,"[1] not satisfied with this arrangement, found a place for it in John, where it seemed suitably placed as leading up to the saying, "Ye judge after the flesh, I judge no man" (John viii. 15).

But the Lucan authorship of this fragment does not stand or fall with the theory of the two editions of the works of Luke. The theory of Blass does not account for phenomena in the "δ" text outside Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. It does not provide what is required, namely, "some uniform cause applicable to the whole range of phenomena presented by the 'δ' text, with some special addition to account for their special prominence in the two books of Luke." What, then, can have produced the results for which this theory attempts to account?

The answer may be found in the words of Dr. Headlam.[2] "During the first seventy years of their existence the books of the New Testament were hardly treated as canonical. The text was not fixed, and the ordinary licence of paraphrases, of interpolations, of additions, of glosses were allowed."

XIII. Scribal Handling of N.T. Text

The "Western" text, "current at the earliest date to which our knowledge extends in nearly all

[1] *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 162.
[2] *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 26.

parts of the world to which the Gospels had been carried," was, as Dr. Kenyon says,[1] "freely handled by scribes and teachers in the early days of Christianity." Luke and Acts might be most exposed to free treatment because they circulated most among the Gentile converts to the faith. Dr. Moffatt,[2] in addition to the parallels of the varying editions of *Piers Plowman* noticed by Blass, alludes to the *Religio Medici*, which was by transcription successively corrupted, until it arrived at the press in a most depraved copy in 1642. "A year later, Sir Thomas Browne issued his authorised edition in order to supersede this previously printed form, which, with its alterations, omissions, and additions, gave but the broken and imperfect shape of his original writing."

The *pericope adulterae* may have been omitted, not by Luke, but by scribes in the East, who desired to respect Jewish prejudices. The passage then found its way to the end of the Gospel and thence was transferred to John's Gospel. If it was again inserted in Luke's Gospel, as some think, the scribe responsible for this act showed more insight into its real character than the "authoritative person" who credited John with its authorship. We can hardly agree with Augustine that the story was removed from certain MSS. by men who feared *peccandi immunitatem dari mulieribus suis*, otherwise we should expect to find in the Gospels a vigorous campaign against thieves, harlots, and sinners.

Nor can we accept the suggestion[3] that the *pericope adulterae* formed part of a lost gospel—a primary source of Luke—and that it was omitted by the third evangelist because of a certain similarity

[1] *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, pp. 303-4.
[2] *Historical New Testament*, pp. 611 ff.
[3] Buckley, *Introduction to the Synoptic Problem*, p. 211.

to the story of the woman who was a sinner. The resemblances between the two stories are altogether too slight to sustain such a conclusion.

"Free handling by the scribes"—a comprehensive expression—determined not only its varying position in the Gospels, but also the variations in the text of the passage, which are more in number than in any portion of the New Testament. The settlement of the precise text of the verses under discussion is part of a larger problem. In the Excursus IV.[1] a reconstruction of the narrative as a whole is attempted. For the present investigation Nestle's text has been adopted. If, however, the text of Codex Bezae be taken instead, the vocabulary is more decidedly Lucan.[2]

XIV. Silence of Marcion

There is one important witness, preserving a "Western" text, who cannot be claimed for the Lucan authorship. Marcion did not include the story of the woman taken in adultery in his edition of the Gospel. Many of his omissions, but not all, are explained by his dogmatic views. The reason for the omission of the *pericope* can no more be understood than the reason for the like treatment of the Parable of the Prodigal.

In the last edition of *Supernatural Religion*, Mr. Cassells was compelled to admit that his earlier hypothesis of the third gospel as an elaboration of Marcion's gospel was untenable and that "the portions of our third Synoptic excluded from Marcion's gospel were really written by the same pen which composed the mass of the work."[3]

Dr. Sanday's discussion of style proves that the parts excised by Marcion are undoubtedly Luke's.[4]

[1] Pp. 292 ff. [2] P. 291. [3] 1902 ed., p. 361.
[4] *Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 229.

"The verified peculiarities of St. Luke's style are found in the portions omitted by Marcion in a proportion of more than one to each verse." The same may be said of the *pericope adulterae*.

Of all the theories advanced for the origin of the verses, John vii. 53–viii. 11, none seems to satisfy so completely the demands of the passage itself as that of Lucan authorship.

XV. Hort's Verdict corrected

Hort's judgement, based upon external evidence and biassed by his general attitude towards the "Western" text, is seen to be much too sweeping. "It has no right to a place in the text of the four gospels." [1]

XVI. External and Internal Evidence for Lucan Authorship of *Pericope*

External evidence, it must be admitted, does not suffice to establish the authorship of Luke, but it is by no means decisively hostile. A group of important minuscules still preserves the story in its original home, whether this is due to the fine insight of some interpolating scribe, or to the soundness of the stock from which the MSS. spring. The narrative, in a slightly variant form, was part of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In its corrupt form, it was known to Luke, whose own version was due to the motive exhibited in his proem. In Luke, the *pericope adulterae* was probably known to the authors of Protevangelium Jacobi, and the Gospel according to Peter, and possibly passed from the third Gospel into the first edition of the Thomas Gospel. The state of the text in the second century and its free handling

[1] *Introduction*, p. 300.

by scribes are responsible for the varying positions of the section in the Gospels of Luke and John. Such considerations, when taken in conjunction with the overwhelming internal evidence, provide reasonable grounds for the conclusion that the *pericope adulterae* is the work of the third Evangelist, and properly forms part of his Gospel.

EXCURSUS I

1. Words characteristic of Luke found in the *pericope adulterae*: [1]

	Mt.	Mk.	Lk.	Acts.	John.	*Pericope.*
(1) παραγίνομαι	3	1	8	20	1	1
(2) λαός . .	14	2	36	48	2	1
(3) πᾶς ὁ λαός .	1	—	10	6	—	1
(4) ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν	—	—	5	1	—	1
(5) ἐρωτάω .	4	3	15	7	27	1
(6) εἶπεν δὲ .	—	—	59	15	1	1
(7) ὡς . .	—	1	19	29	16	1
(8) ἔχω with infin.	1	—	5	6	2	1
(9) ἀρξάμενοι ἀπό	1	—	3	3	—	1
(10) σὺ οὖν . .	—	—	2	1	—	1
(11) ὄρθρου . .	—	—	1	1	—	1

2. Words found in Luke more often than in Matthew and Mark together, though not twice as often, but found in Luke and Acts together four times as often as in Matthew and Mark together: [2]

	Mt.	Mk.	Lk.	Acts.	John.	*Pericope.*
ἄγω .	4	3	13	26	12	1

3. Words found in the "we" sections of Acts and also used predominantly though not exclusively in the rest of Acts or Luke: [3]

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[1] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 16 ff. [2] *Ibid.* p. 21.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 152.

	We sections.	Rest of Acts.	Rest of N.T.
ἐπιμένω .	4	2	9[1]

4. Words found in the "we" sections of Acts and in the *pericope adulterae*: πορεύομαι, καθίζω, ἐπιμένω, ἄγω, παραγίνομαι, ὡς.

5. Words found twice as often in Luke and Acts together as in Matthew and Mark together:

	Mt.	Mk.	Lk.	Acts.	John.
πορεύομαι .	29	—	50	48	13
ἕκαστος .	4	1	5	11	3
οἶκος . .	9	12	31	25	4
καταλαμβάνω	—	1	—	3	2
νομός . .	8	—	9	19	14
κατηγορέω .	2	3	3	9	2

6. Πρεσβύτερος. "In its original sense, this word is found in the New Testament only in the *pericope* and in Luke xxv., elsewhere in the New Testament it always has a technical sense, *i.e.* elders of the Jewish or Christian Church."[2]

7. Πορεύομαι is used in dismissing those healed, or who have asked a question, Luke vii. 50, viii. 48, x. 37, xvii. 14, cp. *pericope*, John viii. 4.

EXCURSUS II

Ἐν μέσῳ occurs in Luke seven times, and in Acts five times; two of these in Luke, however, are missing in Codex Bezae, which in their stead reads μέσον; and, on the other hand, the same MS. in the same Gospel reads ἐν μέσῳ once when the α and β texts read εἰς τὸ μέσον. It will be shown that D probably preserves the Lucan usage in every case. Dr. Abbott illustrates John's use

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[1] Only in Pauline Epistles. For relation of Luke and Paul, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 155-6.

[2] Buckley, *Introduction to the Synoptic Problem*, p. 209.

of *εἰς τὸ μέσον*, compared with Luke's *ἐν μέσῳ* to show how easily the two constructions might be interchanged according as the notion of coming into an assembly was prominent or latent.[1] The following is a list of Lucan passages in which these phrases are found :

(*a*) καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ	Lk. ii. 46	(*i*) περιαψάντων δὲ πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ	Lk. xxii. 55
(*b*) βῖψαν εἰς τὸ μέσον	,, iv. 35	(*j*) ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ	,, xxiv. 36
(*c*) καθῆκαν εἰς τὸ μέσον	,, v. 19	(*k*) ἀναστὰς ἐν μέσῳ	Ac. i. 15
(*d*) στῆθι εἰς τὸ μέσον D ἐν μέσῳ	,, vi. 8	(*l*) ἐποίησεν ἐν μέσῳ	,, ii. 22
(*e*) ἔπεσεν ἐν μέσῳ D μέσον	,, viii. 7	(*m*) στήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ	,, iv. 7
(*f*) ἀποστέλλω ἐν μέσῳ D μέσον	,, x. 3	(*n*) ἑστῶτος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν [D]	,, vi. 15
(*g*) οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς	,, xxi. 21	(*o*) σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ	,, xvii. 22
(*h*) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ	,, xxii. 27	(*p*) σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ	,, xxvii. 21

But *ἔστησεν ἐν μέσῳ* Mark ix. 36, Matt. xviii. 2, becomes *ἔστησεν παρ' ἑαυτῷ* Luke ix. 47.

Luke's partiality for this phrase is evident from the following facts. Passages *a*, *h*, *j* are in sections peculiar to his Gospel, *g* is introduced by Luke into a Marcan narrative, and *o* is in a " we " section.

It will be seen that the verb *ἵστημι* in some form occurs in conjunction with *ἐν μέσῳ* once in Luke (xxiv. 36), or if we follow D twice (vi. 8) ; in Acts it is found three times, or including vi. 15 (D) four times. With other verbs, the phrase occurs six times in Luke (in D four times) and twice in Acts. The changes which are affected by D tend to show that " the two constructions are not in this MS. easily interchanged." In Luke vi. 8, the case of the man with the withered hand healed on the Sabbath, *στῆθι εἰς τὸ μέσον* becomes *στήθι ἐν μέσῳ* ; the notion of coming into an assembly is latent, for " the man was there." In Luke viii. 7, *ἔπεσεν ἐν μέσῳ* becomes *ἔπεσεν μέσον*, the accusative without preposition being used as equivalent to the whole phrase *εἰς τὸ μέσον*, in this case the notion of " coming into " is prominent, the seeds cast by the sower were not " amidst the thorns "

[1] *Johannine Grammar*, p. 2711.

until they fell from his hand. Similarly in Luke x. 3, ἀποστέλλω ἐν μέσῳ is in D ἀποστέλλω μέσον, since the disciples were not in the midst of wolves, until they were sent forth. A scrutiny of passages *a, b, c, g, h, i, k, l,* betrays the fact that the difference between εἰς τὸ μέσον and ἐν μέσῳ is somewhat strictly maintained. So far as it goes, this evidence as confirming the correctness of the Greek written by the third Evangelist tends to strengthen the case for the "Western" text.

Ἐν μέσῳ in the *pericope adulterae* occurs twice, στήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ, ἐν μέσῳ ἑστῶσα. In the latter case, the reading of the *Textus Receptus* is preferred, despite inferior attestation, on grounds of intrinsic and transcriptional probability.[1] In both instances, the words suggest that the woman was "on trial"; in the first passage she is placed in the dock, and in the second, awaits the sentence of her judge. This connotation of the phrase is paralleled by examples in Luke and Acts. In Luke vi. 8 (D), our Lord said to the man that had his hand withered, "Rise up and stand forth in the midst," στῆθι ἐν μέσῳ. It was a trial case. "The Pharisees watched Jesus, whether he would heal on the Sabbath day. But he knew their thoughts." The man who stood forth was not only the recipient of the grace of Christ, he was also the representative, so to speak, of the Pharisees; the means by which Jesus demonstrated his conviction of their thoughts. When Jesus stood in the midst of his disciples, ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ, Luke xxiv. 36, it was that he might himself be put upon trial, and so prove his bodily presence. "See, my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see." Luke converts the ἐν μέσῳ of Mark ix. 36 (so Matt. xviii. 2) into παρ' ἑαυτῷ, because the little child whom he took and set by his side was in no sense "on trial," but rather displayed as an example of humility to the wrangling disciples. When we turn to Acts, the special sense of ἵστημι ἐν μέσῳ becomes even more patent. Peter and John were

[1] See Excursus IV. pp. 308 ff.

brought before the Sanhedrin, Acts iv. 7, and "when they had set them in the midst" (*στήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ*), they inquire, "by what power, or in what name, have ye done this." The men were on trial.

In Codex Bezae vi. 15 we are told that the members of the council saw the face of Stephen as it had been the face of an angel *ἑστῶτος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν*. Stephen was being tried by the Synedrion on a charge of blasphemy.

So Paul, Acts xvii. 22, when he stood in the midst of the Areopagus and addressed the men of Athens, was making his defence. It may be, as Sir William Ramsay urges,[1] that it is erroneous to suppose "Paul was subjected to a trial before the Council in any legal sense." But a legal trial is not the precise suggestion of the phrase. As Sir William Ramsay himself says of Paul,[2] "He stood in the middle (*σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ*) of the council, a great and noble but not a friendly assembly, as in iv. 7, Peter stood in the midst of the Sanhedrin." Paul is before the Areopagus in order that he "may give an account of his teaching and pass a test as to its character." Finally, Paul, Acts xxvii. 21, when the vessel conveying him to Rome was in difficulties, and all on board had been long without food, stood forth (*σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ*) in the midst of them. His counsel had been before this set aside by the centurion, who naturally enough, "gave more heed to the master and to the owner of the ship." Now, however, when the situation is critical, Paul stands forth to justify his advice. "There shall be no loss of life among you." Time was to justify his bold behaviour in thus putting himself to the proof.

It will be seen that the notion of coming into an assembly is *not*, in these passages, expressed by *εἰς τὸ μέσον*, as elsewhere in Luke's writings was found to be the case. For example, in Acts iv. 7, Peter and John should have been set *εἰς τὸ μέσον* not *ἐν μέσῳ*, for they were obviously brought before the assembly. Again, in

[1] *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 243.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 245.

Acts xvii. 19, the Athenians "took hold of Paul and brought him unto the Areopagus," yet Luke writes ἐν μέσῳ. Then the disciples were alone when our Lord stood in the midst of them (Luke xxiv. 36), a clear case of coming into an assembly, though it is reported in the words ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ.

How do we account for these exceptions to the rule? The answer seems to be found in the employment by Luke of an idiom ἵστημι ἐν μέσῳ, whenever the idea of test, proof, or trial is suggested, an idiom which overrides his somewhat strict observance of the difference between εἰς τὸ μέσον and ἐν μέσῳ. Two examples of this idiom are preserved in the *pericope adulterae*. A striking confirmation of the suggestion of trial in ἐν μέσῳ, is found also in the use of ἄγουσιν.

This verb is frequent in the legal sense καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ (Matt. x. 18, cp. Luke xxi. 12). Luke employs it of the bringing of Christ before Pilate, and in Acts of the bringing of Paul before the Areopagus, xvii. 19, before Gallio, xviii. 12, and before Festus, xxv. 6, 7, 23.

In a petition regarding a robbery discovered in the Papyri, and dated A.D. 114, the same word is found.[1] Διὸ ἀξιῶ ἀκθῆναι τοὺς ἐνκαλουμένους ἐπί σε πρὸς δέουσαν ἐπέξοδον.

The construction of ἄγειν, meaning "bring before a court of justice," with ἐπί is regular in the Papyri as in the New Testament.[2]

In Epictetus,[3] also, a contemporary of Luke, we meet with the phrase used in a legal sense. The philosopher is satirising an inconsistent Stoic, who, instead of taking a cudgelling quietly and loving the cudgeller, appeals to Caesar, and wishes to bring his assailant before the Proconsul: "O Caesar, what a monstrous outrage am I enduring to the breaking of the Emperor's peace! Let us go (ἄγωμεν) to the Proconsul."

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[1] *Berliner griechische Urkunden*, 22.

[2] Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of Greek New Testament*, p. 7.

[3] Bk. III. c. xxii. 55.

In view of this evidence, must we not conclude with Harnack,[1] after his examination of the evangelist's use of *ὁ λόγος*, that "in these technical and philological matters, Luke was very conscientious."

EXCURSUS III

(1)

Linguistic tendencies common to Luke in his treatment of "Q" and to the author of the *pericope adulterae.*

(*a*) Luke uses the strenuous prohibition where Matthew has *μή* with the aorist subj. Cp. John viii. 11.

(*b*) "The participle in place of the infinitive or the finite verb belongs to the style of Luke." In the *pericope* the participle so used occurs eight times.

(*c*) "The use of the imperfect is almost peculiar to Luke." There are six instances of the imperfect in the *pericope.*

(*d*) "Luke has replaced *ὅπως* in several passages by *ἵνα.*" *ἵνα* expresses purpose in John viii. 6.

(*e*) For *ἄρτι*, in Matt. xxvi. 29, Luke uses *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.* Cp. John viii. 11. For *οἰκία*, in Matt. xxiv. 43, Luke uses *οἶκος.* Cp. John vii. 53. For *ἦλθον*, in Matt. x. 34, Luke uses *παρεγενόμην εἰς.* Cp. John viii. 2. In Matt. v. 25 Luke has interpolated the temporal *ὡς.* Cp. John viii. 7.

(*f*) The Evangelist has a "warm interest in the very poorest" and "a pictorial style is a frequent characteristic of his." Both remarks apply equally well to the author of John vii. 53–viii. 11.

(2)

Διδάσκαλος, Teacher, is the mode of address applied

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[1] *Constitution and Laws of the Church,* p. 334.
(*a*) Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 6.
(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 11.
(*c*) *Ibid.* pp. 44, 45.
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 103.
(*e*) *Ibid.* pp. 30, 33, 57, 86.
(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 121.

to Jesus by the Scribes and Pharisees, and Κύριος is that of the sinful woman. Διδάσκαλος is a Greek translation of the Aramaic "Rabbi," "though emptied of some of its force." [1] Rabbi was the usual form of address with which learned men were greeted, and "for the time of Jesus is expressly attested in Matt. xxiii. 47." [2]

The deferential address of "Teacher" bestowed upon our Lord by his interrogators was customary under such circumstances, and is found in all three Synoptic Gospels, both in the form of Διδάσκαλε and in the transliteration of Ῥαββεί, when questions demanding legal acumen, insight, or shrewdness were put to Jesus. "In Luke," says Dr. Burkitt,[3] "διδάσκαλε is the title given to Jesus by strangers or by half-declared adversaries." Like the Pharisees and Herodians who consulted Jesus about the legality of paying tribute money,[4] and the Sadducees who asked concerning the resurrection,[5] the Scribes and Pharisees who dragged the adulteress before our Lord, hailed him as Διδάσκαλε "Teacher." [6] "This designation for Jesus (apart from the Gospels) is wanting in apostolic literature, and is very rare in that of post-apostolic times." [7]

Κύριος, used in narrative, is one of the characteristic words of the third Evangelist,[8] and in Luke, as in Matthew, our Lord is frequently addressed as Κύριε, not only by his disciples, but also by others, *especially such as appealed for His help.*[9] On the other hand, Mark has this form of address only once. These titles Διδάσκαλος and Κύριος point to the primitive character of the *pericope*. The use of Saviour as a designation in the recently discovered fragment of an uncanonical

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[1] Dalman, *Words of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 334.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 331.
[3] *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 114.
[4] Luke xx. 21. [5] Luke xx. 28.
[6] John viii. 4.
[7] Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canons* (Eng. Tr.), p. 22.
[8] *Horae Synopticae*, p. 34.
[9] Dalman, *Words of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 227.

Gospel, indicates, in the opinion of its editors, that "this Gospel belongs to a later stage of development than the canonical Gospels."[1] In the surviving extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, our Lord is spoken of as "dominus" and "magister," which would represent the Greek Κύριος and Διδάσκαλος.

(3)

Lucan character of Hapaxlegomena in the *pericope*.

(*a*) Αὐτόφωρον. Compounds with αὐτός are Lucan. Cp. αὐτόπτης Luke i. 2, and αὐτόχειρ Acts xxvii. 19 found nowhere else in the New Testament.

The word ἐπαυτοφώρῳ is really a phrase (ἐπ' αὐτῷ φώρῳ) and is applied by the best Greek writers to detection in any flagrant crime though actual derivation is from φῶρος, theft.

But cp. Aelian, *Nat.* xi. 15, μοιχευομένην γυναῖκα ἐπ' αὐτοφώρω καταλαβών. The word is also found in the Papyri in the more general sense (*B.G.U.* ii. 372, ii. 11). A.D. 154, το[ὺς] λημφθέντες ἐπ' αὐτ[ο]φ[ώρ]ῳ κακούργας.

(*b*) Καταγράφειν. Simple verb γράφειν is Lucan. Compound ἐπιγράφειν once each in Luke and Acts, elsewhere in New Testament once in Mark.

(*c*) Ἀναμάρτητος. Kindred words like ἁμαρτωλός are Lucan. This is a good classical word, meaning either impeccable or sinless. The latter is the meaning here. Cp. verse 11. "Among words peculiar to the Synoptists, there are proportionately fewer non-classical words in Luke than in any of the Synoptist Gospels."[2]

(*d*) Κατακύπτειν. Compounds of κύπτειν occur in Luke. One ἀνακύπτειν is peculiar to Luke and the *pericope*, and another συγκύπτειν is found only in Luke, and in a passage as here, where ἀνακύπτειν is used.

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[1] Grenfell and Hunt, *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel*, p. 11. So also Swete, *Two New Gospel Fragments*, p. 3.

[2] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 171.

(4)

Lucan character of text of *pericope adulterae* in Codex Bezae.

(*a*) A larger number of words are found occurring more frequently in Luke than in any other gospel, than is the case in Nestle's text.

(*b*) Of four words in the *pericope*, not in Luke, but in some other gospel, three are not found in the text of D; the fourth is a word used in Acts.

(*c*) There is the same number of "characteristic" words of Luke; one falling out, and another making its appearance.

(5)

Ἀνακύπτειν

Ἀνακύπτειν "to look up" is used in the *pericope* in its literal sense. Luke uses it as a medical term in the account of the woman bound by the spirit of infirmity (Luke xiii. 11-17). "This," says Dr. Macalister,[1] "was probably a case of senile kyphosis, due to chronic osteitis of the vertebrae, a condition not infrequent among aged women whose lives have been spent in agricultural labour." In xxi. 28, Luke uses the word metaphorically. After describing the woes and sufferings that must precede the Advent, he says, "And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. But when these things begin to come to pass, look up (*ἀνακύψατε*), and lift up your heads, because your redemption draweth nigh." The metaphorical sense, as the context shows, has a large tinge of medical colour, and stands, as it were, midway between the technical and the literal signification. In a letter of Apollonius, written on papyrus, discovered at Memphis, and dated 153 B.C.,[2] and also in the LXX of Job x. 15, we find *ἀνακύπτειν* used in the same sense.

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[1] *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 328 (*b*). [2] *Paris Papyri*, No. 47.

EXCURSUS IV

THE TEXT OF THE *PERICOPE ADULTERAE*

The MSS. which contain the *pericope* in some form are D, F (partly defective), G, H, K, U, T (with a hiatus after *στήσαντες αὐτήν v.* 3); others which mark with an asterisk or obelus are E, M, Λ, S, Π. Gaps in L, Λ betray doubt on the part of the scribes. Of minuscules more than 300 contain it. The passage is also found in the old Latin b*, c, e, ff², g, j, l (mg.), the Vulgate, even the best codices, the Aethiopic and Syr^hier^. The section is also recognised by the Apostolic Constitutions, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and others. The recovery of the original text of the *pericope* is not easily accomplished. Scrivener[1] remarks: "In no portion of the New Testament do the variations of the MSS. (of D beyond all the rest), and of other documents, bear any sort of proportion, whether in number or extent, to those in these twelve verses." Hort,[2] therefore, had good reason for feeling "by no means confident that the true text can now be recovered in more than approximate purity." Von Soden, however, did not despair of the task. He distinguishes[3] no fewer than seven types of the text of the *pericope* which are indicated by the symbols μ^1, μ^2 ($\mu = \mu o\iota\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$). These types are discovered by a critical examination of variants in the different MSS., the theory being that texts which exhibit the same variants are descended from a common ancestor. The most important forms current in the Middle Ages were μ^5 and μ^6, and a large number of witnesses betray the influence of both.

The most important and the earliest of the MSS. containing the *pericope* is D, the chief representative of the "Western" text. The text of Codex Bezae (Von Soden's δ 5) differs most from that of μ^5 and μ^6, but the important eleventh-century minuscule 1 (δ 254),

[1] *Introduction*, ii. 366. [2] *Notes*, p. 88.
[3] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 507-8.

which contains the *pericope* at the end of the Fourth Gospel, presents a close parallel to it, and a doublet for each has been found in the twelfth-century 1071 (ε 1279) and in a tenth-century MS., in Von Soden's notation ε 183. From these two pairs of MSS. have been traced many descendants in the matter of the *pericope* text.

Like all other scholars Von Soden recognises a large number of singular errors in Codex D and its doublet. Where the latter does not confirm such a reading in Codex Bezae, it is attributed to the scribe of D, otherwise it is said to be inherited from their common parent.

The Ferrar group of MSS., which give the *pericope* at the end of Luke xxi. according to Von Soden, exhibit in this section the μ^4 type of text. At most it is "only a peculiar shade of a much more widespread text, and the text in which the parent codex inserted the *pericope* after Luke xxi. is not peculiar to it." [1] In view, however, of the Lucan authorship of the passage, special attention is due to the readings of MSS. which still present it as part of the third gospel.

The attitude towards the "Western" text already defined [2] makes it impossible to treat it as a whole to be accepted or rejected as uniformly good or bad. The "scribes and teachers in the early days of Christianity," to whom we are indebted for so many textual variants, were men whose motives were commonly better than their methods, and their work deserves to be critically examined rather than extravagantly lauded or violently execrated. To the early Christians the gospel was a unity, and "the original sense of the natural unity was not suppressed by the ecclesiastical recognition of four gospels. The gospel harmonies of Tatian and Theophilus continued the process of harmonising, and the contamination of the gospel text has made it perceptible." [3] The content of the *pericope adulterae*

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[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 505-6. [2] Pp. 1, 2, 278-9.
[3] Wendland, *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, S. 193.

together with its absence from the first and second gospels would render it peculiarly liable to the suspicion of scribes possessed by a sense of the essential unity of the gospel narrative. Excised by early scribes in the East from the third gospel, the *pericope adulterae* was inserted by later scribes (*a*) in the text of the fourth gospel; in the same gospel, but (*b*) partly in the margin, partly in the text, (*c*) partly in the text and partly at the end, (*d*) wholly at the end, (*e*) earlier in the narrative of John, and (*f*) in the gospel according to St. Luke, if this be nothing more than scribal insertion. The uncertainty of the scribes as to the authority and authorship of the *pericope* is reflected in the positions accorded to it. Their endeavours to find room for it in the gospels must be interpreted as evidence of their sense of its value and verisimilitude.

The freedom which early scribes enjoyed in "emending" and editing the text of the MSS. was not by any means confined to the more doubtful passages of scripture, but the extraordinary variations of the text of the *pericope adulterae* in the MSS. containing it are probably due to its singular history. A word dropped here or changed there, always as it would seem for the better, would be a matter of little moment in the case of a narrative which, like Melchizedek, was ἀπάτωρ "of unknown father" in the papyri meaning of the word.

Tribute must even be paid to the comparative scrupulosity, or it may be impotence, of the scribes, since, despite their best or worst efforts, the *pericope adulterae*, in whatever manuscript it survives, preserves a predominantly Lucan character.

This fact, in itself, points the way towards at least a partial solution of the problem involved in the reconstruction of its text. The style and vocabulary of the third evangelist must avail to decide between competing readings. In other words, in addition to the criteria recognised by textual critics, must be employed the

methods of the scholars who seek to separate "Q" from its form and frame in the third gospel. The context of the *pericope* in its original home, and the possibility of its assimilation of elements from the place of its banishment in the fourth gospel, are also material considerations in the determination of its true text.

What Dr. Stanton said with regard to the principles set forth by Westcott-Hort apply *mutatis mutandis* to the *pericope adulterae*: "We must allow for a somewhat larger measure of uncertainty than they allowed for, and give way to considerations of intrinsic probability in attempting to come to a conclusion in more cases than they did."

For the text of 13, 69, 124, and 346 the Collation by W. H. Ferrar and T. K. Abbott has been consulted, and also the edition of Codex Augiensis by Scrivener. In the former work, the close affinity between the four MSS. is demonstrated, their peculiarities examined, and the text of the archetype, from which they are descended, is exhibited. The Codices are known by the initial letters of the cities in which they are preserved: 13 = P (Paris), 69 = L (Leicester), 124 = V (Vienna), 346 = M (Milan). The text of the archetype is called F, and for it Mr. Abbott claims [1] "an authority second only to that of the three or four most ancient uncials."

On the question of the relation of the text of the Ferrar Group to that of Codex Bezae Mr. Abbott is in agreement with Scrivener. Speaking of L, Scrivener says: "Mill, who did not particularly value it, first observed its striking affinity with Codex Bezae; perhaps the result of my collation is to diminish that resemblance, though not materially." Alluding to the Ferrar Group as a whole, Mr. Abbott says [2] his analysis "overthrows the hypothesis of a very close relation to D, but it is not inconsistent to say, having regard to the character of D, that our Group approximates nearer to D than to the

[1] *A Collation of Four Important MSS. of the Gospels*, p. iv.
[2] *Ibid.* p. l.

received text." The relation of D with F is illustrated in the text of the *pericope adulterae.* Where they differ it will be seen that D generally, but not invariably, retains a Lucan reading, a fact which, so far as it goes, confirms Von Soden's view of the Ferrar Group text, and tends to prove in these MSS. the *pericope* is not original to the third gospel, but has been inserted there by some copyist, probably under the influence of a trustworthy tradition.

In the Ferrar MSS. the *pericope adulterae* follows the last verse of Luke xxi., and the section runs (neglecting variants): "And every day he was teaching in the temple; and every night he went out, and lodged in the mount of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple to hear him. (*Pericope*) And they went every man unto his own house, but Jesus went into the Mount of Olives. And early in the morning he came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him; and he sat down and taught them."

Obviously there is a looseness at the point of union between the *pericope* and what precedes in Luke.

L relieves the difficulty to some extent by omitting the words in John viii. 2, *καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.* Both clauses are omitted by Von Soden from his reconstruction of the original text (μ) and attributed to μ^2 (*ὄχλος* being read for *λαός* after Mark ii. 13). He argues[1] that "the insertion comes word for word from Mark ii. 13, only *λαός* has displaced *ὄχλος* under the influence of Luke xviii. 43, xix. 48, xxi. 38, Acts iii. 9, 11, and *καθίσας* has been added from Luke v. 3 or Matt. v. 1. He adds that the insertion probably comes from the time when the verses vii. 53–viii. 2 remained after viii. 3-11 had been removed, and has for its object the introduction of the address viii. 11 f. These changes are really accommodations to the material in the context, hence their general acceptance is intelligible."

[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments,* S. 510.

Dr. Bacon[1] presents a different account of the relations between the *pericope adulterae* and Luke xxi. 37, 38: "The attachment of the *pericope* after xxi. 38 in the Ferriani is almost certainly due to the occurrence of the story at the corresponding point of the gospel according to the Hebrews, which in Eusebius' time alone contained it. The two verses, Luke xxi. 37, 38, are apparently the evangelist's substitute for the story. . . . For obvious reasons our evangelist (Luke) might well prefer to drop the *pericope adulterae* although his source contained it, but the story survives, as Eusebius tells us, both in Papias and in the gospel according to the Hebrews. From a source of this type it was attached to a family of texts, which draw upon a Semitic gospel under the title of τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν, after Luke xxi. 37, 38, thus duplicating the very passage which was written to take its place."

The relation between Papias and the Hebrews gospel and between the latter and the *pericope* have already been examined. The evidence does not support Dr. Bacon's theory. The two verses, xxi. 37, 38, are not unmistakably Lucan, as has been shown above. There is no parallel in Luke's use of Mark or "Q" to the omission of such a section as the *pericope*. But what is fatal to the theory is the Lucan character of the passage. In Dr. Bacon's words, already quoted, it "is of the very bone and flesh of Luke's unique material."

There is no MS. which points to a breaking in two of the *pericope*, and it is improbable that the passage should have been omitted from the third gospel without affecting the last verse, which Blass supposes was retained in Luke. The πάλιν of John viii. 2 also loses its force unless preceded by Luke xxi. 37. A different account from that of Blass seems more likely. We may strike out the whole of Luke xxi. 38 and John vii. 53 as due to scribal dittography. The former verse repeats in a less original

[1] *American Journal of Theology*, January 1918; *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 106.

form the ideas of John viii. 2; and the second half of the latter verse (John vii. 53, which is alone in question) is the bare statement of the main thought of Luke xxi. 37b. We can see when the *pericope* became detached from the Lucan narrative how easily the scribe might add a verse to what we have in the third and fourth gospels, in order to complete the one and introduce the other, finding his materials for such additions in the narrative which lay before him. The omission of the two verses mentioned gives us the following connection: "And every day he was teaching in the temple, and every night he went out and lodged in the mount that is called the mount of Olives. And early in the morning, he came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him; and he sat down and taught them," etc. Ὤρθριζεν (Luke xxi. 38), a non-classical word, is not found elsewhere in Luke or Acts, and looks like a scribal variation of ὄρθρου παρεγένετο, both of which are Lucan. Similarly τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιών (Luke xxi. 37) is characteristic of Luke rather than τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν (John viii. 1).[1]

The variants in the connecting particle of John viii. 1 (δέ D, καί F) may witness to the break in the connection of the *pericope* with the third gospel. The verse should be omitted as above.

But the first clause is found in Codex Bezae, the phrase πᾶς ὁ λαός is characteristic of Luke, and the use of the participle in the second clause is also Lucan.

Blass [2] cancelled the introductory words, "And every man went unto his own house," "which are absent from the Latin Corbeiensis, and are nothing but the link of connection added to the section in order to adjust it to the place in John." In this he was undoubtedly right, but not so clearly in his further suggestion that the "*pericope* should be placed two verses earlier." On this view, the connection becomes the following: "And

[1] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 34; Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 69, 235.

[2] *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 157.

Jesus went unto the mount of Olives. And early in the morning he came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him," etc. (the rest of the section, ending with Jesus' words to the woman). "And (Luke xxi. 37 f.) in the day time he was teaching in the temple; and at night he went out, and abode in the mount that is called the mount of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning for to hear him." Blass argues this is original for these reasons: "There is first an account of what came to pass on the next day, and after that a general summary of what came to pass on all of these days given partly in the same words as the beginning of the special account, but a little more circumstantially, since a general custom deserved more words than the occurrence of a single day." Finally, he adduces an account "somewhat akin to this" from the "Western" text of Acts, upon which little stress can be laid. On the other hand, there are weighty arguments against this reconstruction, and considerable evidence that a more radical treatment of the text is necessary to secure a logical sequence.

John viii. 2. T.R. *ὄρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.*

ὄρθρου. This word occurs in Luke xxiv. 1 and Acts v. 21, and nowhere else in the New Testament except in the *pericope adulterae.*

U. al. plus[60] add *βαθέως* (pauc. ex his[60] *βαθέος*). Von Soden[1] attributes it to the latest type of the text (μ^7) and regards it as providing "the scene with an improbable time of day."

Ὄρθρος is the morning twilight and *βαθύς* implies that it was more dark than light. If *βαθέως* stood in the original text its omission would be due to the scribal reflection that Jesus would not be in the Temple before the day had fully dawned. Its addition is improbable. *Ὄρθρου βαθέως* is found only in Luke xxiv. 1 in the

[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments,* S. 513.

New Testament. The phrase is classical and was probably used twice by Luke.

παρεγένετο. D *παραγείνεται.* F *ἦλθεν.*

Von Soden reads in (*μ*) *παρεγένετο* and regards D's reading as due to the copyist, since 1071 (*ε* 1279), the doublet of D, does not agree with it. The Historic Present is rare in Luke, and he frequently corrects it when using Mark.[1] Harnack[2] also finds the correction in Luke's treatment of "Q." The reading of F must also be rejected. Luke uses *παρεγενόμην* (xii. 51) for the Matthean *ἦλθον* (x. 34). It is a characteristic Lucan word (see p. 282), but, as it is common in vernacular documents, it has no such literary flavour as Harnack supposed.

F omits everything after *ἱερόν* whilst D omits *καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.* F's omission has been already noticed. *Καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν* occurs in Luke v. 3, and a similar use of the participle with a finite verb in xiv. 28, 31, xvi. 6.

The T.R. reading of the verse (with the addition of *βαθέως*) should be retained.

John viii. 3. *ἄγουσι δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς αὐτὸν γυναῖκα ἐν μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ.*

ἄγουσιν D. *προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ* F.

Ἄγω is characteristic of Luke (see p. 282) and has a quasi-legal sense (see p. 287). *Προσφέρω* is characteristic of Matthew.[3]

οἱ γραμματεῖς. Von Soden conjectures that *ἀρχιερεῖς* should be read in *μ* for *γραμματεῖς* with an Athos MS. *ε* 183 f. He admits that it may be a reminiscence of Matt. xxvii. 62, John xi. 47, 57, xviii. 3, but as the usual phrase in the gospels is *οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*, and *ἀρχιερεῖς* is found in 1071 (*ε* 1279), D's

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[1] Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 121; Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 114.

[2] *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 45.

[3] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 6.

henchman, at verse 4, he thinks the best explanation of the facts is that ἀρχιερεῖς stood in the original text of this verse.

There are two objections to this conjecture. It is against the weight of the MS. evidence, and by the removal of the scribes the scene is robbed of the climactic character which the context in Luke together with the Bezan version of verse 4 unmistakably provide (see p. 303).

Ἀρχιερεῖς may have crept into verse 3 from the following verse.

γυναῖκα ἐν μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην T.R. ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ γυναῖκα εἰλημμένην D. γυναῖκα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην F.

Von Soden attributes ἐν to μ^5. It probably reflects the influence of ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. Ἐπί (D, F) indicating "ground" is found in Luke v. 5, Acts ii. 26.

Von Soden has the reading of F in μ, and esteems ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ γυναῖκα to be a scribal error since it is not found in 1071 (ε 1279). But the faithful companion of D may occasionally have deserted their common master.

Ἁμαρτίᾳ appears to have the support of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (see p. 260), μοιχεία is not found in Luke or Acts, and Luke has ἁμαρτίας where Matthew reads ὀφειλήματα (vi. 12).

Μοιχεία is due to a scribe who knew the nature of the offence from what follows.

Κατειλημμένην is not found in the third gospel, but occurs three times in Acts. Luke has a decided preference for compound verbs.[1] The perfect passive participle of λαμβάνω does not occur in the New Testament, and in the LXX "the form is κατειλημμένος (variously spelt)."[2] The scribe of D omitted κατ after γυναῖκα—an easy slip after the τ became obscure. For ἐν μέσῳ (T.R. and D) F reads ἐν τῷ μέσῳ.

Von Soden credits τῷ as an addition to $\mu^{3,4,6}$. Ἵστημι

[1] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 175.
[2] Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, i. 274.

ἐν μέσῳ is Lucan and in a special sense (see p. 283 ff.). For a parallel to the whole expression cp. Acts iv. 7.

John viii. 4. T.R. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατειλήφθη ἐπαυτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη.

λέγουσιν D. εἶπον F.

Luke's tendency to alter Mark's Historical Present has been already noticed—" probably it was too familiar for his liking." [1] Here, following ἄγουσιν, the present is preferable. It adds to the dramatic character of the narrative, cp. ὁρᾷ Luke xvi. 23, λέγει Luke xvi. 7, 29. The Historic Present is common in Josephus and abundant in Attic writers.

Von Soden in μ follows D and ascribes εἶπον to $\mu^{3,4,6}$. After αὐτῷ D + ἐκπειράζοντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ, and omits in verse 6 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον . . . κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.

For ἱερεῖς D's double 1071 (ε 1279) reads ἀρχιερεῖς, which, as we have seen, Von Soden accepts instead of γραμματεῖς in verse 3. The German scholar altogether rejects the reading of Codex Bezae here with the observation: [2] "It is very difficult to believe that a redactor would have struck out this sentence which sets the whole proceedings in the right light in order to introduce the limping substitute τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον . . . κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ. On the other hand, this stylistic correction corresponds to the disposition of the author of the text-type of Codex Bezae and its associates (δ 5 f), who easily assumes the rôle of a schoolmaster."

In view of " the carelessness of the scribe of Codex Bezae, who in Acts v. 27, xix. 14 writes ἱερεύς instead of ἀρχιερεύς," the latter word which 1071 (ε 1279) has preserved is accepted as the reading of the original text. It is also in favour of ἀρχιερεῖς that in the Lucan context of the *pericope* the chief priests are named amongst the inquisitors of Jesus (Luke xx. 19, 26, xxii. 2).

Von Soden [3] further admits the originality of ἐκπειρά-

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[1] Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 121.
[2] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 498. [3] *Ibid.* S. 510.

ζοντες, because "in the gospels it is found in a similar sense only in Luke x. 25, whilst πειράζοντες is the ordinary word, and in $\mu^{2\text{-}4}$ there are many witnesses for ἐκπειράζοντες in verse 6." He concludes that Codex Bezae has kept the right word in a different setting, and that other MSS. have been influenced by the $\mu^5 = \mu^6$ texts.

According to Codex Bezae the Scribes and Pharisees brought the woman before Jesus, and the Priests put the case of her sin and punishment. The Scribes and Chief Priests had inquired of Jesus concerning the tribute money (Luke xx. 19-26), the Sadducees concerning the resurrection (xx. 27-33); now, after an interval, Scribes, Pharisees, and Priests unite in an effort to catch him in his talk. Three facts rob the introduction of priests in the *pericope* of the element of surprise. (1) The scene of the interview is the Temple (John viii. 2). (2) According to Numbers v. 11-31 the trial by ordeal of a woman suspected of infidelity was effected by the priest—hence the priests may be said to have had a prescriptive interest in the woman brought before Jesus. (3) Textually it is some support of D's reading—or more accurately of its comrade 1071 (ε 1279)—that in the immediate Lucan context of the *pericope*, following upon the failure of the final attempt to "trap" Christ, we read καὶ ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τὸ πῶς ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν (Luke xxii. 2).

Probably the D reading dropped out when the connection with Luke was broken, and only Scribes and Pharisees were named as bringing the woman's case forward. The addition of the clause in verse 6 followed naturally (see p. 305).

T.R. κατειλήφθη. κατείληπται D. εἴληπται F.

Von Soden in μ has the simple verb with F. He regards the compound as μ^1. Tischendorf and W. H. prefer κατείληπται (for Luke's preference for compounds see p. 301). The tendency in the Κοινή for passive forms to displace the middle would make difficult a scribal correction in the opposite direction. The Perfect

harmonises better than the Aorist with the context. D is therefore superior to T.R., which Von Soden calls a μ^5 reading.

John viii. 5. T.R. *ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ Μωυσῆς ἡμῖν ἐνετείλατο τὰς τοιαύτας λιθοβολεῖσθαι· σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις ;*

D reads *Μωυσῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευσεν τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν· σὺ δὲ νῦν τί λέγεις ;*

F + *περὶ αὐτῆς* and writes *Μωσῆς*.

The last two readings are quickly dismissed. Von Soden shows[1] that "the older forms of the text read *Μωυσῆς*." *Περὶ αὐτῆς* belongs to $\mu^{2,3,4,6}$. "Its addition is due to John ix. 17 *τί σὺ λέγεις περὶ αὐτοῦ*, and especially to the fact that *τί λέγεις* alone might seem to be an appeal for a judgement upon Moses and the punishment decreed by him."

For the first part of the statement "the textual tradition is extraordinarily variable." μ^6 has *ἐν δὲ νόμῳ ἡμῶν Μωυσῆς ἐνετείλατο*, μ^5 *ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ Μωυσῆς ἡμῖν ἐνετείλατο*, in $\mu^{2\text{-}4}$ the form *ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ* M. *ἐνετείλατο* is frequent, whilst other groups have *ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ* M. *ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν*.

Von Soden takes the reading of Codex Bezae and its relatives (δ 5 f) as the point of development and demonstrates how the variants have been evolved from it. In the neighbourhood of the *pericope* (in John) viii. 17 we read *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ γέγραπται*, cp. Luke x. 26. The text of $\mu^{2\text{-}4}$ has changed the two correlative ideas in the proximity of *ἡμῖν* into a reminiscence of these two passages, μ^6 has connected *ἡμῖν* with *νόμῳ*, μ^5 has placed *ἡμῖν* after the subject, and finally *ἡμῖν* was thrust behind its governing verb.

"In this wandering from place to place *ἡμῖν*, if original, was not infrequently lost." From its uncertain position the inference is that it does not belong to the original text. It may have been introduced "to mark the fact that the law was intended to be a law for the Jews."

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[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 511.

With slight alterations the text of Codex Bezae is adopted as that of *μ*. Instead of *ἐκέλευσεν*, *διακελεύει* is read with 1071 (*ε* 1279), D's doublet, *ἐνετείλατο* being rejected as "the usual term for a statement of a legal behest" (Matt. xix. 7, Mark x. 3, cp. Heb. ix. 20), and *διακελεύει* is preferred to *ἐκέλευσε* as "a more choice term" and one which "does not occur again in the New Testament—hence difficult to explain if not original." Again, *σὺ οὖν* is preferred to *σὺ δὲ νῦν*.

Against these deviations from Codex Bezae by Von Soden it may be urged that whilst *ἐντέλλεσθαι* is found only once in the Lucan writings (Luke iv. 10—a quotation from the LXX) *κελεύειν* occurs frequently in Luke and Acts, though not in the New Testament outside the *pericope* used in the sense of this passage. *Νῦν* is a characteristic word of Luke, whilst *οὖν* is characteristic of Matthew, cp. the addition of *νῦν* to the Beatitudes.

T.R. *λιθοβολεῖσθαι*. *λιθάζειν* D and F.

The latter occurs twice in Acts but is Johannine; the former is found once in Luke, three times in Acts, and not at all in John. *Λιθάζειν* is original, since the Deuteronomy passage (xxii. 24) reads *λιθοβολεῖσθαι* and the scribe would easily assimilate the verb to that of Dt. Von Soden in *μ* reads *λιθάζειν*, as *λιθοβολεῖσθαι* "is the usual word in the LXX for the punishment designed by the Law." [1]

John viii. 6. T.R. *τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσι κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.*

τοῦτο δὲ . . . αὐτοῦ is omitted by D. Such a parenthesis is Johannine, and was inserted (originally in the margin) by a copyist under the influence of the fourth evangelist, cp. John vi. 6.

T.R. *ἔγραφεν*. *κατέγραφεν* D. *ἔγραψεν* F.

Luke is fond of compounds, and the use of the imperfect is a mark of his style (see p. 288). Von Soden in *μ* has *κατέγραφεν*.

[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 508.

John viii. 7. T.R. *ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν, ἀνακύψας εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος τὸν λίθον ἐπ' αὐτῇ βαλέτω.*

D omits *αὐτόν*, but Von Soden in μ retains it.

For *ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες* cp. *ἐπέμενεν κρούων* Acts xii. 16, *οὐ διέλιπε καταφιλοῦσα* Luke vii. 45. Radermacher[1] finds the participle with *ἐπιμένω* in vulgar literature, cp. P. Oxy. 128 *ἐπιμένει λέγων*.

T.R. *ἀνακύψας εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς*. *ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς* D. *ἀναβλέψας εἶπεν* F.

Von Soden (μ) follows D, and regards *ἀνακύψας* and *πρὸς αὐτούς* as $\mu^{5,7}$. But "the participle in place of the infinitive or finite verb belongs to the style of Luke,"[2] and *πρός* used in speaking to is characteristic of Luke.[3]

T.R. *τὸν λίθον ἐπ' αὐτῇ βαλέτω*. *ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον* D.

The reading of T.R. Von Soden[4] reckons the latest form of the text μ^7—the scribe mediating between μ^5 and μ^6, *τὸν λίθον βαλέτω* and *λίθον βαλέτω ἐπ' αὐτήν*, and construing *ἐπί* with the Dat. "'Upon' can be rendered in Hellenistic Greek with gen. dat. or acc. with comparatively little difference of force";[5] cp. Mark vi. 39 dat., for which Matt. xiv. 9 substitutes the gen. but D the acc.

D's reading is classical and the emphatic word is at the end.

John viii. 8. T.R. *καὶ πάλιν κάτω κύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν*.

D has *κατακύψας* and *κατέγραφεν* (see notes on verse 6).

F has text of T.R.

Von Soden regards *κατακύψας* as μ^1 and *κάτω* as $\mu^{2\text{-}7}$. The former he believes is due to correspondence with *ἀνακύψας* in verse 10. Neither the simple nor the

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[1] Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 1102.
[2] Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. Tr.), p. 11.
[3] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 21.
[4] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 507.
[5] Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, i. 102.

compound verb occurs in Luke, but *κυπτεῖν* is found once in Mark. The use of *ἔγραφεν* illustrates the classical idiom by which a preposition in a compound is omitted (without weakening the sense) when the verb is repeated, *e.g.* 2 Cor. v. 3, Rom. xv. 4, John i. 2, Rev. x. 10. The scribe of D has assimilated the verb of verse 8 to that of verse 6, and the T.R. *vice versa*. Perhaps also the repetition of *κατά* in D is due to dittography. Von Soden (*μ*) reads *κατέγραφεν* (v. 6) and *ἔγραφεν* in verse 8, which seems to be correct.

After the participle D adds *τῷ δακτύλῳ*. It is a scribal addition from the margin, coming in from verse 6. Von Soden omits it from *μ*.

John viii. 9. T.R. *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐξήρχοντο εἷς καθ' εἷς, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ ἑστῶσα.*

T.R. *οἱ δὲ . . . ἐξήρχοντο. ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξήρχετο* D. *καὶ ἐξῆλθον εἷς καθ' εἷς* F.

D's reading is Johannine. *Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες* Von Soden ascribes to $\mu^{2,3,5,7}$, but the phrase is Lucan, cp. Acts iv. 24. The imperfect *ἐξήρχοντο* maintains the graphic character of the narrative. Von Soden (*μ*) retains it.

The phrase *καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι* is omitted by D and F. Von Soden [1] regards it as referring the effect which followed to *ἀκούσαντες* so as to make the action of the woman's accusers more intelligible. It should be omitted as a scribal gloss. *Συνείδησις* is a Pauline word not found in the third gospel, and only in two speeches of Paul in Acts (see p. 181). *Ἐλέγχειν* does not occur in Acts, only once in Luke, and three times in John.

T.R. *ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων. ὥστε πάντες ἐξελθεῖν* D.

Both are scribal additions, the former emphasising the preceding words, the latter the following *μόνος*. Von Soden observes that the confirmation of the result mentioned in *κατελείφθη μόνος* by *ὥστε πάντες ἐξελθεῖν* is

[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 509.

a characteristic feature of the text represented in Codex Bezae and its allies (δ 5 f).

For ἕκαστος . . . ἐξήρχετο D is read in "μ" ἐξήρχοντο εἷς ἕκαστος, the Bezan scribe being credited with a correction which the presence of the following ἀρξάμενοι shows to be the reverse.[1]

εἷς καθ' εἷς F is not found in classical writers, but occurs in late Greek, *e.g.* Mark xiv. 19, cp. Rom. xii. 5, 2 Macc. v. 34.

Von Soden denominates it a reading of μ^2. It may be a scribal addition.

T.R. καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος ὁ Ἰησοῦς. So F. D omits ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Von Soden characterises the mention of Jesus by name as a stylistic addition, but, commenting on the same words in verse 11, observes that, in order to avoid the reference to Jesus by ὁ δέ, the later feeling of respect commonly prompted the addition of the name Ἰησοῦς.

Its omission is quite in Luke's manner (see note on verse 11). For μόνος cp. Luke x. 40.

T.R. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ ἑστῶσα. οὖσα D.

Ἵστημι ἐν μέσῳ has been shown to be Lucan with a particular significance appropriate in both occurrences of the phrase in the *pericope*. (See Excursus II. pp. 283 ff.)

Intrinsic Probability, or "the consideration of what an author is likely to have written," points to the originality of ἐν μέσῳ ἑστῶσα as the previous discussion has demonstrated. That Transcriptional Probability, or "the consideration of what a copyist is likely to have made an author seem to have written," supports the same words remains to be shown. In the oldest MSS. words were written in capitals, without accents, breathing, or separation of words. Assuming the first reading to be correct, it would be written thus:

ΕΝΜΕΣΩΕΣΤΩΣΑ.

The stages in the change to ἐν μέσῳ οὖσα are easily

[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 498.

traced. Led astray by the ending of *μέσῳ*, T is omitted by a scribe and we get

ΕΝΜΕΣΩΕΣΩΣΑ.

The next copyist, seeing *εσω* written twice, suspects dittography, removes these letters in the second word, and substitutes *ου*, making the words

ΕΝΜΕΣΩΟΥΣΑ.

"When Intrinsic Probability and Transcriptional Probability combine in favour of any variant," says Dr. Murray,[1] "their testimony is overwhelming." We therefore read in John viii. 9, *ἐν μέσῳ ἑστῶσα.*

Von Soden suggests that *οὖσα* (μ^2) may be a reminiscence of *γυνὴ οὖσα* Mark v. 25, and reads *ἑστῶσα* as μ.

John viii. 10. T.R. *ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ μηδένα θεασάμενος πλὴν τῆς γυναικός, εἶπεν αὐτῇ· ἡ γυνή, ποῦ εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κατήγοροί σου ; οὐδείς σε κατέκρινεν ;*

T.R. *ἀνακύψας.* So D. F as in verse 7 *ἀναβλέψας.*

Von Soden (μ) reads *ἀναβλέψας.* Probably D has assimilated verse 10 to verse 7 and F *vice versa.* *Ἀναβλέπειν* is found seven times in Luke and five times in Acts as against Matt. 3, Mark 7, John 4.

T.R. *καὶ μηδένα . . . γυναικός.* D omits the clause. F reads *εἶδεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν.*

The latter reading is not Lucan, and *θεᾶσθαι* is rather Johannine than Lucan. The clauses are explanatory scribal additions. Neither is included by Von Soden in μ.

T.R. *αὐτῇ· ἡ γυνή.* D *τῇ γυναικί, ποῦ.*

Von Soden (μ) follows D. He regards the variants as indications of the turn in the conversation.[2] "*ποῦ εἰσιν* appears to be spoken into the air, by which Jesus seems as though astonished. In μ^6 it is helped out by the insertion of *γύναι* at the beginning of Christ's words, in μ^5 by the addition of *αὐτῇ* to the sentence introducing these words. Most witnesses of μ^1 have taken up *αὐτῇ*

[1] *Dictionary of the Bible*, ext. vol. p. 222 *a*.
[2] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 496.

and *γύναι* from μ^5. δ 5 (Codex Bezae) writes in place of both *τῇ γυναικί*, μ^5 could not use *τῇ γυναικί* since it had inserted *καὶ μηδένα θεασάμενος πλὴν τῆς γυναικός* after *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* ; μ^6 inserts *εἶδεν καί* between *Ἰησοῦς* and *εἶπεν*, which again does not suit *τῇ γυναικί*, it therefore changes it to *γύναι*—a reminiscence of Matt. xv. 28, Luke xiii. 12, xxii. 57, John ii. 4, xix. 26, xx. 13, 15." Later Von Soden suggests [1] that "*γύναι* may be due to a recollection of the solemn *γύναι* in the address to Mary, John ii. 4, xix. 26, cp. xx. 13, 15."

In view of the textual history thus summarised and of the Johannine parallels to *γύναι*, the reading of D is to be preferred.

T.R. *ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κατήγοροί σου*. F omits *ἐκεῖνοι*. D omits the whole phrase. Von Soden (*μ*) agrees with D, attributing *ἐκεῖνοι* to $\mu^{5,7}$ and *οἱ κατήγοροί σου* to $\mu^{3,5,6,7}$. He suggests [2] that *οἱ κατήγοροί σου* comes from Acts xxiii. 35. *Κατήγορος* is found five times in Acts, once in the Apocalypse, and nowhere else in the New Testament. The reading of F may be original, though it is not easy to account for the omission of the words. Perhaps it was due to the perception that the Scribes and Pharisees were not technically "accusers" as there was no question of the woman's guilt.

John viii. 11. T.R. *ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐδείς, κύριε. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὐδὲ ἐγώ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου καὶ μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε.*

T.R. *ἡ δὲ. κἀκείνη εἶπεν αὐτῷ* D.

ἡ δέ is more Lucan than *κἀκείνη* and is read by Von Soden (*μ*).

T.R. *εἶπε δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν* D. *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς* V. *καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς* F.

εἶπεν δέ is characteristic of Luke. *Ὁ Ἰησοῦς* should be omitted (see note on verse 9, p. 308). It is deleted as superfluous by Luke from Mark ii. 5 (cp. Luke v. 20) and from "Q" (Matt. xi. 4 = Luke vii. 22). Its addition by a scribe is more intelligible than its omission.

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[1] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 511. [2] *Ibid.*

T.R. πορεύου. ὕπαγε D.

Von Soden reads πορεύου. The word is characteristic of Luke, whilst ὑπάγω is Matthean and Johannine. The latter never occurs in Acts, once in a saying of Jesus. Luke takes it over from Mark; he omits it once (xviii. 22) and alters it six times.

T.R. μηκέτι. D adds ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.

Von Soden attributes the addition of D to $\mu^{1,2,3,6,7}$. "It emphasises the decisive turning-point in the life of the woman, and indicates by its connection with μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε that the adultery she has committed, notwithstanding the clemency of his treatment of it, is a sin." He compares for the phrase Luke i. 48, v. 10, xii. 22, xxii. 18; Acts xviii. 6.

It is a characteristic Lucan phrase, whilst μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε alone is found in John v. 14. Even without the words it is clear that the offence is deemed sinful. The reading of D is to be accepted.

Resultant Text of the *Pericope Adulterae*

Luke xxi. 37. ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος ηὐλίζετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιών.

John viii. 2. ὄρθρου βαθέως πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

3. ἄγουσιν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ γυναῖκα κατειλημμένην, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ,

4. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ἐκπειράζοντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ· διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατείληπται ἐπαυτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη.

5. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευσεν τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν· σὺ δὲ νῦν τί λέγεις;

6. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κατακύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.

7. ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες, ἀνακύψας εἶπε πρὸς

αὐτούς. Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον.

8. καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.

9. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐξήρχοντο εἷς ἕκαστος ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ ἑστῶσα.

10. ἀναβλέψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τῇ γυναικί· ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ κατήγοροί σου; οὐδείς σε κατέκρινεν;

11. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐδείς, κύριε. εἶπε δέ, Οὐδὲ ἐγώ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε.

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